

POLITICAL TROUBLE IN INDIA
1907 — 1917

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BY
JAMES CAMPBELL KER, I.C.S.

FOREWORD AND A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE AUTHOR
BY
MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

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FOREWORD

The Criminal Intelligence Departments of many provinces of British India as well as some of the Princely States, where nationalist revolutionary activities were in existence, used to publish occasionally papers on various topics related to these activities. These were compilations on political agitation covering various sectors of Indian political life—Indian army, Ramakrishna Mission, Moslem League, Arya Samaj, Wahabis, Theosophical Society, Servants of India Society as well as conspiracy cases, political robberies and murder-plots. So far as Eastern India is concerned the following are among such publications. (1) F. C. Daly, *Note on the growth of the Revolutionary Movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1911); (2) J. E. Armstrong, *An Account of the Revolutionary Organization in Eastern Bengal with special reference to the Dacca Anusilan Samity*, Parts I and II, Vol. I; (3) J. C. Nixon, I.C.S., *Notes on Outrages compiled in 1917*; (4) J. C. Nixon, *An Account of the Revolutionary Organization in Eastern Bengal with special reference to Dacca Anushilan Samity*, Part III, Vol. II; (5) L. N. Bird, *History of the Political Agitation and Bhadralog Crime in the city of Dacca from 1905-1913*; (6) W. Sealy, *Connections with the Revolutionary Organizations in Bihar and Orissa, 1906-1910*; (7) J. Stevenson, *A Memorandum on the National Volunteer Movement, 1907 etc., etc.*

There were also similar publications in other provinces of the country.

The Criminal Intelligence Departments of Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay and Sind, Central Provinces, Madras, Punjab, Rajputana, United Provinces, had dossier of thousands of persons suspected to have any connection with these activities, which are preserved in the Criminal Intelligence Department, Simla and Delhi.

The number of such compilations was not meagre, but there was no publication which gave under one cover a connected account of the revolutionary activities in the country as a whole and by Indians abroad.

Revolutionary activities were on the increase during the war years in India and by Indians abroad. The urgent need of such a compilation was badly felt.

James Campbell Ker was entrusted with the task of compil-

ing this work which was first published in 1917. Less than a hundred copies of this book were published. This was a "*Secret and Confidential*" work and it was printed on the title page in bold type that, "*The Recipient shall be held responsible for its security.*"

The first imperialist World War was drawing to a close. It meant that the extraordinary powers of the war years would come to an end. So the Government decided to set up a committee in preparation for new repressive enactments after the termination of the war.

The Governor-General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India decided to appoint a Committee by a resolution of 10th December 1917, (1) to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them.

The last para of the above resolution reads :

"The Committee will assemble in Calcutta early in January 1918. It will sit *in camera*, but will be given full access to all documentary evidence in the possession of Government bearing on the existence and extent of revolutionary conspiracies in India and will supplement this with such other evidence as it may consider necessary."

The Committee assembled in due time and submitted its report to the Government of India on 15th April, 1918, i.e., in three months time.

Statements were placed before this Committee with documentary evidence by the Governments of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma, as well as the Government of India. In every case except that of Madras the Committee was further attended by officials of the Government presenting the statement, who gave evidence before it. The sittings of the Committee were held in Bengal and Punjab, non-officials also placed their points of view before the Committee.

The Chairman of the Committee, S. A. T. Rowlatt thanked all who came before the Committee, whether official or non-official. He did not fail to thank Messrs C. Tindall and J. C. Nixon and J. D. V. Hodge the Secretary of the Sedition Committee. The only person he did not thank was James Campbell

Ker to whom the Committee and its report was most heavily in debt. It was not possible for him to thank Ker because of the fact that *Political Trouble in India, 1907-17* was a secret and confidential work and its existence was not supposed to be known to anybody outside the circle of those for whom the book was meant.

One may wonder at the speed and efficiency of the Committee in finishing its work in such a short time. The secret of this lies in the fact that the Committee took advantage of Ker's most detailed work on the subject, quoted chapters and verses from it verbatim or in a somewhat altered form. Thus on comparing Ker's book with the *Sedition Committee Report* one will very easily find that *Political Trouble in India* was the real source-book for the Committee and it alone made possible for it to finish its arduous work in such a record time of three months.

The present edition is limited to a few hundred copies. I am working on an annotated edition of it which may be published in near future.

In final, I must thank the Librarian, India Office Library, London, who lent the book to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, for my use.

Asiatic Society,
Calcutta-16
30 March, 1960.

MAHADEVAPRASAD SAHA

A NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

JAMES CAMPBELL KER, the eldest son of the Rev. W. L. Ker, Minister of the Parish Church, Kilwinning, Ayrshire, was born 2 January, 1878. He was educated at the Irvine Academy, Glasgow University, where he took first class honours in Mathematics, and was Iglinton Fellow, Caius College, Cambridge. He was appointed to the Indian Civil Service after examination of 1901, arrived in this country on the 28th November, 1902, and served in Bombay Presidency as Assistant Collector and Magistrate, and in Sind as Assistant Collector.

He served as Personal Assistant to the Director of Criminal Intelligence in Simla from August 1907 to December 1913. From October 1914 to February 1917 he was on special duty at the Army Head Quarters, Simla. It is during this period that his allotted duty was to make a detailed study of the vast amount of documents, official and otherwise, connected with the Indian Nationalist Revolutionary Movement in India, Asia, Europe and America.

After working for some three years he wrote his *Political Trouble in India, 1907-17*. He was again placed on special duty in the office of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, Simla from February to November 1917.

In 1918 he was appointed Collector and District Magistrate of the Kaira district of the Bombay Presidency. Two years later he became Secretary to the General and Educational Department of the Government of Bombay. He remained in that post until 1923 and was then from 1924 to 1929 Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay.

He was made K.C.I.E. in January 1924 and C.S.I. four years later.

After his retirement from India in May 1930 he entered British politics contesting the Western Division of Stirlingshire, and Clackmannanshire as Unionist Candidate in October 1931 General Election. Although the sitting Labour Member was Tom Jonson, later Secretary of State for Scotland and Chancellor of the Aberdeen University, Ker turned an adverse majority

of 3,590 into a victory by 1,819 votes. He held the seat until the following General Election in 1935, when he did not stand again.

He married in 1925 Mary Katherine, youngest daughter of William Brown of Giffnock, Renfrewshire. He died on Thursday, December 28, 1961 at his home in West Kilbride. He was 83.

M. S.

P R E F A C E

WHEN I submitted proposals for the preparation of a book summarising our information regarding political and revolutionary agitation in India, the Hon. Sir Reginald Craddock, Home Member, passed the following remarks on my proposals :—

“We were going to have compiled a book of this kind when the War broke out, but the developments of these conspiracies and events have been so great since that I think the time is opportune for putting on record in a convenient and comprehensive form all the scattered information that exists. We depend very much on individual memories in this country, and the movements are now old enough for all the early information about them to be lost. Provincial authorities are, for the most part, not wholly aware of the importance and significance of what is going on in other parts of India. The Director of Criminal Intelligence’s weekly reports are read and burned. I think that it will be as well to proceed with the book now.”

This book aims at being a narration of the principal events connected with political trouble in India during the years 1907-1917, which have formed a well-defined period of politico-criminal activity in India. Previous to 1907 criminality in Indian politics was not a general feature though there were some manifestations and some under-ground preparations for it. The present year, 1917, is witnessing a great burst of non-criminal political agitation, the leaders of which speak and write against criminal methods. We cannot think that political trouble has ceased; far from it, but apparently it has altered its form, and statesmanship rather than good police methods are required to deal with the future developments.

I first became intimately associated with politico-criminal activity in 1908, and since February, 1909, have held my present post of Director of Criminal Intelligence. I can say that the main ideal of my Department, and of the connected Provincial Departments, has been so to deal with politico-criminal conspirators that their efforts should not disturb Government to the extent of forcing it to alter its course of statesmanship. The Great War has helped us a great deal in this endeavour. At the beginning of it we were severely handicapped by the break-down of the Law Courts in Bengal, which had proved quite unable to-

deal with Revolutionary crime and criminals, with the result that there was no working system of punishment for the latter, while information was difficult to obtain and almost impossible to use. The combination of politico-criminal plots with enemy intrigue and aims enabled the police and executive authorities to use the special war powers with most telling effect against the plotters, and our system of intelligence, prevention and punishment improved tremendously. One result of this was to give a great impetus to non-criminal political agitation which is now at a high level. This book does not deal with this phase. Nor does it attempt to take the reader behind the scenes as regards the sources of our information. Mr. Ker has resisted any temptation to sensationalism, although he had ample material for most interesting and extraordinary stories of some of the intimate facts of the Indian Secret Service. The British Government has been fortunate, I think, in having in its service, or at its disposal, a number of devoted and loyal Indians who have shown as little inclination to fraternize with the seditionist as a fox-terrier with a rat. There have also been a number of British officers who have looked upon the tracking of dangerous sedition as the big game of their life.

Any elaborate disquisitions on the psychology of the politico-criminal activities of Indians would have been out of place in the book itself. But the psychology is really of the utmost importance. The outward forms in which ideas are clothed are far more ephemeral and changing than the ideas themselves. In the case of India certain ideas have been in existence for a very long time and will continue. The ideas of the Bengali anarchists are in the main very similar to those of the Besantite Home Rulers, but the outward forms are different. I venture to close this preface with a fairly long quotation, on this subject of the idea, from Farquhar's "Modern Religious Movements in India," a book, in my opinion, of fascinating interest and deep knowledge and insight.

In his chapter on Religious Nationalism, actually written in 1912 but revised in 1915, Mr. Farquhar says :—

"The notes of what we tentatively call Religious Nationalism seem to be as follows :

A. Independence. A distinct advance in thought and action made itself manifest about 1870. Young India began to think of political influence and to defend the ancient religious heritage. Yet there was a sort of half-dependence on the ideals and the thought of others, which

gives the time an appearance of unripeness. In this new era we have the assertion of the full independence of the Indian mind. The educated Indian now regards himself as a full-grown man, the equal in every respect of the cultured European, not to be set aside as an Asiatic, or as a member of a dark race. He claims the right of thinking his own thoughts; and he is quite prepared to burn what he has hitherto adored and to create a new heaven and a new earth. This adult self-confidence was immeasurably strengthened by the victory of Japan over Russia. Every Asiatic felt himself recreated by that great event. To all Asiatic lands it was a crisis in race-history, the moment when the age-old flood of European aggression was turned back. The exultation which every Indian felt over the victory lifted the national spirit to its height and gave a new note of strength to the period.

B. A new nationalism. The patriotism of to-day makes the feeling which inspired the Congress seem a very bloodless thing indeed. Men now live at fever-heat, carried beyond themselves by a new overmastering devotion to the good of India. But there is clear sight as well as passion. The new nationalism is much more serious and open-eyed than the thin old politicalism. It is burdened, tortured, driven forward by the conviction that the whole national life needs to be reinspired and reborn. Full proof of the depths to which the Indian mind has been stirred may be seen in this, that in all the best minds the new feeling and the fresh thought are fired by religion, either a furious devotion to some divinity of hate and blood, or a self-consecration to God and India which promises to bear good fruit. Finally, whether in anarchists or in men of peace, the new nationalism is willing to serve and suffer. The deluded boys who believed they could bring in India's millennium by murdering a few white men were quite prepared to give their lives for their country; and the healthy movements which incarnate the new spirit at its best spend themselves in unselfish service.

I. ANARCHISM.

Before we attempt to describe the murderous propaganda we had better endeavour to realize what curdled to such bitterness the spirit of many of the most generous young Indians of our days. What were the causes of the sudden storm of furious hate?

1. *The fact that India is under a foreign government.* The first thought of the man filled with the new spirit is that this is utterly wrong, something which simply ought not to be. India ought to be guided by her own ideals and ruled by her own men. Her present rulers loom up as tyrannical aggressors, thieves of the nation's rights, ruthless destroyers of her priceless ancient heritage.

2. *The race-hatred and race-contempt of Europeans.* I am not one of those who believe that the Englishman behaves worse in his imperial position than other nationalities would do if they were in his place. Indeed, I am inclined to think that, in comparison with others, he stands fairly high. Yet the fact remains that there is a percentage of Europeans in India—soldiers, mechanics, shop assistants, business men, with a sprinkling even of professional men, army officers, and civilians—

who continually shew contempt and hatred for Indians and speak of them as an inferior race, and who from time to time assault Indian servants and subordinates, and treat educated Indians with the grossest rudeness. This behaviour of a small minority of our fellow-countrymen, which at all times has produced very serious results, necessarily stirred the fiercest passions, when national feeling and Indian self-respect rose to floodtide.

We must also frankly acknowledge that every piece of self-complacency, ill-informed, unsympathetic criticism of Indian religion, society and life, whether written by tourist, missionary or official, helped to inflame the sense of wrong and to embitter the resentment which the imperial position of Britain necessarily creates.

3. *Lord Curzon.* Perhaps no man was ever so well prepared for the viceroyalty as Lord Curzon was. Certainly no man ever toiled harder in the position, or worked more disinterestedly for the good of India. His insight and his unsparing labour are already producing their fruits in higher efficiency in education and many other departments of Indian life. Yet it was his tragic destiny to be more furiously detested by the educated Indian than any other Englishman. The cause lay in his self-confident and arrogant spirit and manner. Twenty years earlier they would have scarcely provoked comment; but, contemporaneous with the rise of the Indian mind to independence and national dignity and with the emergence of Asia from her secular slavery to Europe, they stung India to fury and worked wild ruin.

4. *The inner antagonism between Hindu and Western culture.* When the modern Indian reached self-consciousness and self-confidence, there could not fail to come a violent reaction from the attitude of reverence for the West which had guided his scholar-foot-steps. Trained to think by his modern education, he could not fail to turn back to the ancient culture which lived in him and make the most of it. The period of training had been too repressive, too fully dominated by the West. The reaction was bound to come. Thus the old passionate devotion to Hinduism flared up and increased the passion of the anarchist; and his perception of the inner antagonism between Hindu and Western culture-ideals at once justified and embittered his hatred.

5. *Exaggerated praise of India and condemnation of the West.* This more than anything else was the cause of the ruinous folly which marked so much of the teaching and the action of the anarchists. Dayananda, the Theosophists, Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita and all that followed them talked in the wildest and most extravagant way in praise of Hinduism and Indian civilization and in condemnation of Christianity and the West; so that they actually led the average educated Hindu to believe the doctrine, that everything Indian is pure, spiritual and lofty, and that everything Western is materialistic, sensual, devilish. I do not believe that these leaders had any sinister political motive for this policy. Sir Valentine Chirol is inclined to go too far in this matter. What they did they did in the hope of making their followers devoted and enthusiastic Hindus, and of rousing them to toil for the benefit of India. But you cannot sow the wind without reaping the whirl-wind. If it be true that Hinduism and Indian civilization are purely spiritual and good, and

that Christianity and Western civilization are grossly materialistic and corrupt, then the average Hindu was quite right in drawing the conclusion that the sooner India is rid of Europeans and Western influence the better; we are already on the very verge of the doctrine of the anarchists. These leaders are directly responsible for a great deal of the wildest teaching of the assassin press. It is merely the general attitude that is common to the revivalists and the anarchists. It is clear as noonday that the religious aspect of anarchism was merely an extension of that revival of Hinduism which is the work of Dayananda, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda and the Theosophists. Further, the historical is almost as close as the logical connection. Dayananda started the Anti-cow-killing agitation in 1882. The movement grew until, in 1888, it had reached colossal proportions; and in 1893 Tilak made it one of his most potent tools. Krishnavarma was a pupil of Dayananda; Lajpat Rai was for many years one of the chief leaders of the Arya Samaj, and Vivekananda's brother Bhupendra was one of the most influential of the anarchist journalists of Calcutta.

"The history of Indian anarchism cannot be written yet. The most salient facts may be found in Sir Valentine Chirol's *Indian Unrest*; but every careful reader of that useful volume must feel very distinctly that there are many facts as yet unknown which are needed to make the growth of the movement intelligible. We mention here only the names of the leaders.

"So far as can be seen at present, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a member of the sept of Brahmans that led and governed the Marathas, formed the earliest centre of the propaganda known as anarchism. The Anti-cow-killing agitation already referred to was one of several experiments which he tried in seeking to rouse his people to energetic political action; but in 1895 he organized a great celebration of the birthday of Sivaji, the chieftain who, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, made the Maratha tribes an iron army and a united nation to resist the Muhammadans. This widespread commemoration of the Maratha leader in 1895 is significant, because in it for the first time all the features of the Extremist propaganda stand out clear; and there is unquestionable proof that it contained the poison of anarchy; for within two years it worked itself out in murder in the streets of Poona. For this reason we take 1895 as the date of the arrival of the new spirit in Indian history.

"Two other men can be discerned as generators of the anarchical spirit, alongside of Tilak, between 1900 and 1905. These are Syamaji Krishnavarma in London and Bipin Chandra Pal in Calcutta. The former, who had been a personal friend and pupil of Dayananda, lived in India House, London, edited the *Indian Sociologist*, and filled many a young Hindu student with the poison of hate and murder. Here perhaps was the chief centre of the cult of the bomb. Bipin Chandra Pal edited a journal, called *New India*, the settled policy of which was to publish every tale that could be found and exaggerated to fill the Indian mind with the bitterest hatred and profoundest contempt for Europeans, and to urge Indians to train themselves physically to be able to fight those blackguards."

After quoting a description of the excitement and enthusiasm created in India by the success of the Japanese in their war with Russia Mr Farquhar proceeds :—

“Now, in contrast with these glowing lights, let us place some of Lord Curzon’s acts as they seemed at the time to educated Indians. He gave an address at Calcutta University Convocation in which he suggested to a listening nation that they were a nation of liars. He created and passed a Universities’ Act which was meant to introduce a number of much-needed reforms into the higher education ; yet, honestly or dishonestly, almost the whole native press interpreted it as meant to curtail Western education among Indians, and thereby to weaken their influence in the country. Then there came, in 1905, the Partition of Bengal. It is now perfectly clear that some serious change in the administration of the province was urgently required ; and there seems to be no reason to doubt that Lord Curzon believed he was carrying out the best policy ; but he paid but little attention to Bengali feeling and opinion, and some of the speeches which he delivered in a tour through the province were provocative in the last degree. In any case, his action infuriated the educated classes of Bengal ; the whole country was soon rocking sympathy with them ; and an unscrupulous propaganda roused the wildest passion, excited the students beyond measure and led to many riots.

“It was these events that gave the anarchist party their opportunity. Immediately a new type of journalism appeared in Calcutta. The chief writers were Aravinda Ghose, who had been educated in England, and had then spent some years in the service of the Gaekwar of Baroda, his brother Barindra, Bipin Chandra Pal and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, a brother of Swami Vivekananda ; while Tilak and his followers continued the campaign in the West, and Lala Lajpat Rai and some other Aryas did all they could to rouse the Punjab. A long series of murders and attempted murders of Europeans and Indians was the direct result of this writing and of the secret plotting of men who are not yet fully known.

“Perhaps the most amazing fact in the whole sad history is this, that the Moderate party, which until now had controlled the National Congress and had led the educated community, were swept off their feet and dragged behind the Anarchists, almost without a word of protest, until the Congress met at Surat in 1907 ; when the two parties actually came to blows, and the gathering had to be broken up. This fact, and the terrible catalogue of murders which was steadily lengthening out, at last convinced the Moderates that they must dissociate themselves from the teaching of the Anarchist party. Then the tide began to turn. Fewer of the high-strung, unselfish students fell into the toils of the men who planned the murders. In June, 1908, Tilak was arrested and sent to prison for six years for seditious writing. Lord Morley, who was Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy, Lord Minto, had the new Councils Act passed in 1909, which proved that Britain is really anxious to go forward and give educated India a gradually increasing share in the government of the Empire. The King’s visit touched the hearts of the people of India as nothing has done for many years ; and the re-arrangement of the two Bengals helped to heal old wounds. The results

have been priceless. There is now a clear perception of the fact that Indians must co-operate with the British Government in order to bring in the better day for India. Things look distinctly promising.

"The following are the chief notes of Anarchist teaching :

1. Indian civilization in all its branches, religion, education, art, industry, home life and government,—is healthy, spiritual, beautiful and good. It has become corrupted in the course of centuries, but that is largely the result of the cruelty and aggression of the Muhammadans in former times and now of the British. The Indian patriot must toil to restore Indian life and civilization.

2. Western civilization in all its parts,—religion, education, art, business and government,—is gross, materialistic and therefore degrading to India. The patriotic Indian must recognize the grave danger lurking in every element of Western influence, must hate it, and must be on his guard against it. The inevitable result of this has been race-hatred such as has never been seen in India before. The Anarchist press was filled with the uttermost hate and bitterness.

3. India ought to be made truly Indian. There is no place for Europeans in the country. Indians can manage everything far better than Europeans can. The British Government, Missions, European trade and Western influence of every kind, are altogether unhealthy in India. Everything should belong to the Indians themselves.

4. Hence it is a religious duty to get rid of the European and all the evils that attend him. The better a man understands his religion, the more clear will be his perception that Europeans and European influence must be rooted out. All means for the attainment of this end are justifiable. As Krishna killed Kamsa, so the modern Indian must kill the European demons that are tyrannically holding India down. The blood-thirsty goddess Kali ought to be much honoured by the Indian patriot. Even the *Gita* was used to teach murder. Lies, deceit, murder, everything, it was argued, may be rightly used. How far the leaders really believed this teaching no man can say; but the younger men got filled with it, and many were only too sincere.

5. The whole propaganda was marked by a complete disregard of historical truth. The most frightful distortions of past events, and the foulest slanders both of the Government and of individual Europeans went the round of the press, and did their poisonous work."

SIMLA
25th October, 1917.

C. R. CLEVELAND

NOTES ON INDIAN NAMES.

To those who are unacquainted with Indian names some explanation is necessary, as the forms adopted differ from those which are used in Europe, and also very much in different parts of India. The following is a short note on the systems most commonly in use.

I. HINDU NAMES.

(1) *Bombay*. The nearest approach to European practice is found amongst the Hindus of the West of India. For example in the name Gopal Krishna Gokhale the last is the family name, the second is the father's name, and Gopal is the person's own name, corresponding to the Christian name in Europe. The number of these personal and family names is very large, so that when a person's full name on this system is known he is fairly well marked down, as there are few if any other persons who have all three names the same.

(2) *Bengal*. Here the practice is different; in the name Surendra Nath Banerji the last is a family name, and the father, brothers and sons are all Banerjis; but Nath has nothing to do with the father's name, the combination Surendra Nath being the person's own name, and corresponding roughly to a Christian name. In Bengal the number of surnames, Banerji, Bose, Dutt, Chatterji, etc., is very small in comparison with the enormous population, and so also is the number of personal names, with the result that there are numbers of people using, exactly the same combination. A Bengali is not really identified unless his father's name and his place of residence are also stated.

II. OTHER HINDU NAMES.

In other parts of India Hindus are frequently known simply by their personal names, such as Hari Ram, Lal Chand, Nand Gopal, Hoti Lal, etc., without any surname. These are their own names, and give no indication of their father's name; though these names are very numerous there are not nearly enough to go round, and they do not identify the owner unless the father's name and the place of residence are also given.

III. SIKH NAMES.

All names of Sikhs end in Singh, which means Lion, as for example Balwant Singh, Jagat Singh, Hari Singh, etc., and are purely personal names. The remarks made in the last paragraph therefore apply to them also. It does not, of course, follow that all Singhs are Sikhs; this termination is found also in the names of Rajputs, as well as in other parts of India.

IV. MAHOMEDAN NAMES

These are almost invariably purely personal names, and convey no information as to parentage or family. A large number are combinations of the form Abdul Aziz, Abdul Majid, Abdul Qadir, etc., in which Abdul means "The Servant of," and the word which follows is one of the 99 names of God, Aziz, "The Dear One," Majid, "The Holy One," Qadir "The powerful," etc. Others again are combinations of two names, such as Mahomed Hassan, in which Mahomed is the name of the prophet of Islam and Hassan that one of the Holy Imams. Surnames are occasionally added indicating the clan or the place of origin, but, as in the case of Hindu personal names, it is necessary for complete identification to add the father's name and the place of residence.

GLOSSARY

Abhinav	...	... New (Hindu).
Adi Sakti or Adya Sakti	...	... Primordial energy (Hindu).
Akhara	...	... Gymnasium (Hindu).
Amavasya	...	... The new-moon night.
Ananda	...	... Bliss (Hindu).
Anjuman	...	... A Society (Mahomedan).
Anusilan	...	... Improvement, culture (Hindu).
Ashram	...	... A monastic retreat (Hindu).
Asura	...	... A demon (Hindu).
Babu	...	... Master; regularly used as a term of respect by Indians, but sometimes regarded as disparaging when used by Europeans.
Bahishkar	...	... Expulsion from caste; boycott (Hindu).
Bande Mataram	...	... Hail! Mother.
Belati	...	... Foreign.
Bhadralog	...	... The respectable middle class in Bengal (Hindu).
Bhakti	...	... Love, devotion (Hindu).
Bhārat	...	... India (Hindu).
Bharati	...	... Indian (Hindu).
Bhawani	...	... One of the names of the Hindu goddess Durga. The patron saint of Shivaji; also the name of his sword.
Bideshi	...	... Foreign (Hindu).
Brahmachari	...	... A celibate student (Hindu).
Crore	...	... One hundred lakhs, or ten millions.
Desh	...	... Country (Hindu).
Deshbhakt	...	... A Patriot (Hindu).
Deshi	...	... Of the country, as opposed to Bideahi (Hindu).
Devā	...	... A god (Hindu).
Devī	...	... A goddess (Hindu).
Dharma	...	... Religion (Hindu).
Dharmakshetra	...	... A holy place (Lit. a field of religion).
Dharmavira	...	... A hero of religion (Hindu).
Durwan	...	... A door-keeper.
Fakir	...	... A poor man; a mendicant priest (Mahomedan).
Feringhi	...	... Originally a Frank or Frenchman; frequently used as an abusive term for a European in general.
Gunda	...	... A rascal; a common word for a hired ruffian.

Gurmukhi	The language of the Sikhs; also the character in which it is written (Sikh).
Guru	A religious preceptor (Hindu).
Gurukul	A religious school (Hindu).
Hijra	Flight; especially flight from religious persecution, and particularly the Flight of the prophet Mahomed from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D.
Islam	Salvation; used for the Mahomedan religion.
Jai	Victory; e.g., Bharat Mata ki jai, "Victory to Mother India". (Hindu).
Jihad	A Holy War (Mahomedan).
Jnan	Knowledge (Hindu).
Kaaba	The sacred shrine at Mecca (Mahomedan).
Kafir	Infidel (Mahomedan). An abusive term for non-Muslims.
Kali	One of the manifestations of the goddess Durga (Hindu).
Kali puja	The worship of Kali (Hindu).
Kalima	The Mahomedan confession of faith.
Karma	Action (Hindu).
Karmayogi	A devotee of Action (Hindu).
Katha	A legend related to the accompaniment of music (Hindu).
Khalsa	The Sikh community (Sikh).
Khalsa Diwan	A Sikh assembly (Sikh).
Khuddam-i-Kaaba	Servants of the Kaaba (Mahomedan).
Kotwal	The chief police officer in a city (Mahomedan).
Kshetra	A field, e.g., a field of battle (Hindu).
Kurukshetra	The scene of the battle between the Kauravas and the Pandavas in the Mahabharata (Hindu).
Lakh	One hundred thousand.
Lathi	A bamboo staff.
Lota	A small brass jar.
Maha	Great (Hindu).
Mahabharata	Great India; the title of a celebrated epic poem (Hindu).
Maharashtra	The Maratha country (Hindu).
Mai	Mother.
Maidan	A plain or field, e.g., a field or battle.
Mandir	A temple (Hindu).

Mantra	...	...	A religious formula (Hindu).
Mathi	...	...	A temple (Hindu).
Maulvi	...	...	Master; a Mahomedan title of respect.
Mitra Mela	...	...	Society of friends.
Mlechha	...	...	Infidel; an abusive term for foreigners (Hindu).
Muhajirin	...	...	Those who take part in <i>Hijra</i> , or flight, especially from religious persecution (Mahomedan).
Mujahidin	...	...	Those who take part in a <i>jihad</i> , or Holy War (Mahomedan).
Mukti	...	...	Salvation; e.g., Mukti fauj, the Salvation Army.
Mullah	...	...	A temple priest (Mahomedan).
Munshi	...	...	A teacher of Oriental languages.
Muslim, or Moslem	...	...	One who is in a state of Islam; a Mahomedan.
Pandit	...	...	A learned man, a scholar; especially in languages (Hindu).
Prabhat	...	...	Morning (Hindu).
Puja	...	...	Worship (Hindu).
Pujari	...	...	A temple priest (Hindu).
Quarbani	...	...	Sacrifice (Mahomedan).
Raja	..	...	A King (Hindu).
Rakshakali	..	...	Kali in her aspect as protectress (Hindu).
Sabha	...	...	A society (Hindu).
Sadhu	...	...	An ascetic (Hindu).
Sakti	...	...	Power, also power personified (Hindu).
Samaj	...	...	A society (Hindu).
Samiti	...	...	A society (Hindu).
Sampadak	...	...	Secretary (Hindu).
Sandhya	...	...	Twilight (Hindu).
Santan	...	...	A child.
Sanyasi	...	...	An ascetic (Hindu).
Sepoy	...	...	A soldier of Indian infantry.
Shakti	...	...	Power; the Bengali way of pronouncing Sakti.
Shedai	...	...	A devotee (Mahomedan).
Sirkar	...	...	Government.
Sowar	...	...	A trooper of Indian cavalry.
Swadeshi	...	...	Of one's own country
Swaraj of Swarajya	...	...	Self-Government.
Tamas	The principle of inertia (Hindu).
Tar	A telegram.
Yogi	A devotee (Hindu).
Zulm	Oppression

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The object of this book is to give, within the limits of a single volume of moderate size, a connected account of seditious and revolutionary activity in India between the years 1907 and 1917. The Indian Mutiny, to which references are constantly made in Indian revolutionary publications of all kinds, broke out at Meerut, in the United Provinces, on the 10th of May, 1857, and with their customary veneration for anniversaries the Hindu revolutionary leaders have always regarded this date as particularly auspicious. Special importance was naturally attached to the fiftieth anniversary, which marks roughly the beginning of the modern phase of revolutionary activity in India. Ten years earlier, a few weeks after the fortieth anniversary, the Jubilee Murders were committed in Poona; but while the spirit that prompted the assassination of Mr. Rand was nationalist and revolutionary, the proximate cause of the murders was the unpopularity of the plague measures which were being enforced in Poona at the time, and there was apparently no plan ready for a general rising.

ANNIVERSARIES OF THE MUTINY

As will appear later in this chapter, there is very little doubt that, in the Punjab at least, a serious rising about the time of the fiftieth anniversary was narrowly averted; from the beginning of 1907 there had been a vague feeling of uneasiness all over India, and in Bengal the revolutionaries had already begun the campaign of violence and had sent a youth to Paris purposely to learn how to make bombs. The attempt of 1907, such as it was, having been a failure, the revolutionary leaders like other false prophets found it necessary from time to time to fix some other moment for the great event, and many dates have been mentioned; a not uncommon forecast has been that while the fiftieth anniversary passed off without any serious consequences the sixtieth would[2] certainly see the end of British rule in India. The present volume is mainly devoted to the period between these two anniversaries.

CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATORS

While sedition and revolution form the principal theme, it will not, of course, be assumed that every person who is mentioned in the following pages is to be regarded as a revolutionary conspirator. It has been necessary occasionally to bring in the names of persons who strenuously represent themselves to be moderate and constitutional in all their doings, and by their inclusion here nothing is imputed to them beyond what is stated in the text; as to what that amounts to in each particular case the reader is left to form his own opinion.

CENTRES OF CONSPIRACY

It would be impossible to follow the ramifications of every conspiracy in detail, and any attempt to do so, instead of making things clearer, would only tend to confusion; the plan has accordingly been adopted of focussing attention on what became at different times the most important centre of conspiracy, and describing the leading members and the most remarkable of the schemes they attempted or carried out. Thus the centres of conspiracy in Calcutta, Dacca, London, Paris, and San Francisco, are taken up separately, and it will be observed that the lines of propagation of the revolutionary movement, leading to Bengal on the one hand and to Europe and America on the other, both radiate from Poona. The actual course of events in India was not quite so simple as this general plan would make it appear; for while the centres that attracted most attention were situated in Europe or America, revolutionary work, much of it quite independent of them, was going on in India, particularly in Bengal. In order to collect these scattered threads an attempt is made in Chapter XI to give a brief survey of events in India not mentioned in the preceding chapters.

REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

Before going on to what the conspirators did two points of interest arise, namely, what they intended to do and why they wanted to do it; the chapters on the literature of the revolution and the press give the[3]objects and reasons of the revolutionaries in their own language. They took the fullest advantage of the almost unrestricted liberty of the press which existed in India before the Press Act of 1910 was passed to disseminate their views, and the press campaign undoubtedly gained them many

adherents; it will also be noticed, as a point of practical importance well illustrated by the history of the Delhi bomb investigation, that quite apart from the effect which the advocacy of revolution may have on the public mind, a very close connection is usually found to exist between those who practise, and those who preach. It would, of course, be a mistake to accept without hesitation everything they say, but this reservation applies to political manifestoes in general; at the same time it may be assumed that they addressed to their prospective followers the arguments, and held out to them the inducements, which they thought likely to be most effective.

THE SPELLING OF NAMES

The correct English spelling of Indian names is always a difficulty, and several years ago an attempt was made by the Government of India to impose a sort of uniformity; the result, however, was not entirely satisfactory. For example, the name of the editor of the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, which under these rules would be written Surendra Nath Banerji, appears every morning on the front page of his paper as Surendranath Banerjea; yet when he was a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council the official reporter, instead of choosing either, adopted a third variant, Surendra Nath Banerjee, and the talented Bengali authoress of *Sikher Balidan* preferred the form Surendra Nath Bannerji. Similar differences are found in other names, and in view of this conflict of authorities the method used here is to let people spell their names in their own way, where this is known, and in other cases to select the form which appears to be most familiar. Place names, which also vary considerably, have been treated on the same lines. The matter is fortunately not, in a book of this sort, of very great importance; those who know India will recognise the names in any of their usual forms, while those who do not are unlikely to arrive, in all cases, at the correct pronunciation on any system of transliteration.

[4]STANDARD OF EVIDENCE

As far as possible the record is confined to facts which have been clearly proved, and when they have formed the subject of criminal trials the conclusions arrived at by the highest courts are as a rule quoted. In other instances the evidence on which statements are made is briefly indicated, though it is impossible to go fully into the arguments on both sides; and when it is a

question what was said on any occasion the actual words used are preferred to any summary. There are a great many things regarding which the strongest suspicion exists, and some that are established with practical certainty, which are omitted because they have not been proved in court. For example it has latterly been definitely ascertained that the attempted murder of Mr. B. C. Allen and the Barrah dacoity were both the work of the Anusilan Samiti (see page 154), and in the case of the murder of Sukumar Chakravarti, which was arranged and carried out by the same society, the names of the two actual assassins are now known. It is also to be observed that most criminal cases in India in which several persons are concerned are very much whittled down in successive stages. From amongst those who appear to be involved a selection is made of the persons against whom it seems a case can be made out; possibly not all of the latter are arrested, and in the proceedings before the magistrate some are discharged; when the case comes to the Sessions Court some of those who have been committed for trial are able to prove their innocence; and lastly a proportion of these who have been convicted are acquitted on appeal to the High Court. It will be evident, therefore, that the system which is followed here, by eliminating theories and conjectures however attractive, states the case against the enemies of the British Government in India in its lowest terms.

In order to explain the origin of later developments a short account will first be given of political trouble in the various provinces in 1907, going back to an earlier date in the case of the Bombay Presidency.

[5] CHAPTER II

INDIA IN 1907

BENGAL

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

The revolutionary movement in Bengal was worked up on the top of what was known as the anti-Partition agitation. The former was started before the Partition took place, and has persisted since it was reversed, but so long as the Partition remained in force the two were closely inter-connected. It is necessary, therefore, to give a short account of the Partition, and of the agitation against it, so far as it had a bearing on the revolutionary movement.

Disregarding minor distributions of territory, what happened was that the unwieldy province of Bengal was divided into two provinces, called Bengal and Eastern Bengal, under separate Lieutenant-Governors. This change was announced in July 1905, and came into force in October of the same year, and instantly the Hindu leaders of both parts redoubled the agitation against it, which had begun when the proposal was first mooted, and was already in full swing at the time of Lord Curzon's visit to Dacca in 1904. The real trouble was this, that, taking the population of the two provinces together, the Hindus preponderated over the Mahomedans; but when they were divided the Mahomedans, who are concentrated in the East, were in a majority in Eastern Bengal. Before the Partition the educated Hindus, commonly called Bengali babus, had it pretty much their own way all over Bengal; not only did they practically monopolise all branches of Government service, on account of their superior education and organisation, but most of the big landlords, and therefore of course their underlings as well, both in the East and in the West were Hindus. The plight of the ordinary Mahomedan peasant in a place where the landlord and all the officials with whom he came into close contact were Hindus was therefore far from enviable, and the Hindus were in a very strong position. The latter, seeing that as time went [6] on they would lose, in the new province of Eastern Bengal, the monopoly of Government service and the prestige which they

enjoyed, left no stone unturned to have the Partition reversed, and in the end the Province was re-united by Royal command at the Delhi Durbar in December, 1911.

SWADESHI, SWARAJ AND BOYCOTT

The two main features of the anti-Partition agitation were the *swadeshi* movement and the boycott. In the word *swadeshi* "swa" means "own" (compare the Latin *suus*) and "desh" means country, the letter "i" being the usual adjectival termination; *swadesh* therefore means "one's own country," and *swadeshi*, "pertaining to one's own country". The *swadeshi* movement accordingly consisted, economically, of using goods produced in the country in preference to those imported from abroad, and politically of making the administration as far as possible Indian. The boycott was simply the boycott of foreign goods of all kinds, particularly those of English manufacture; to this extent, as the Hindu agitators expressed it, *swadesh* and boycott were positive and negative aspects of the same thing. *Swadeshi*, however, had a political side which went much further; it aimed at a change in the Government of the country with which the use of foreign goods had little or nothing to do, namely, Self-Government or *Swaraj*. There has been some controversy about the meaning of *Swaraj*, or as it ought more properly to be written *Swarajya*. As explained above "swa" means "own," and "rajya" means "rule," *i.e.*, what a *raja*, or king, exercises over his *raj*, or kingdom. Hence *Swaraj* means Self-Government, and it has been regularly used in that sense for many years in the West of India, where the official translation of "Local Self-Government" is "*Sthanik Swarajya*". It was, however, new to Bengal when it was introduced to the local leaders at the Indian National Congress at Calcutta, in 1906, by Dadabhai Naoroji, the celebrated Parsi leader from Bombay. Through these two movements, then, *swadeshi* and boycott, it was hoped to force the reversal of the Partition by bringing pressure to bear on the Government and on the British elector, the assumption being that the former was very sensitive to [7] agitation, and the latter to anything that touched his pocket.

THE PHYSICAL FORCE MOVEMENT

The idea of training young Bengalis to the use of physical force for political purposes had been planted in Bengal before the Partition took place. In the account of the Maniktolla conspiracy

mention is made of the efforts in this direction of Barindra Kumar Ghose, and also of Jotin Banerji who came to Calcutta from Baroda in 1901 and set up a school in which he combined the teaching of physical culture with his own peculiar views on politics. Two years later Miss Sarala Devi Ghosal, a member of a well-known Calcutta family and B.A. of Calcutta University, opened an academy at Ballygunge, Calcutta, where Bengali youths were instructed in fencing *Jiu-Jitsu* by a professional swordsman named Murtaza. The object of this also was apparently political, as she was already known to be a supporter of the nationalist movement; her declared intention was to remove the historical reproach, perpetuated by Macaulay, that the Bengalis were a race of cowards, and she was avowedly influenced by the success of the Japanese in the war with Russia. This new development was eagerly taken up; in Calcutta and other towns throughout the Province similar *akharas* (gymnasias) were started in which wrestling and lathi-play were taught, and practice with the lathi, formerly the weapon of the lower classes only, became fashionable among the young men of the educated and well-to-do, or, as it is called in Bengal, *bhadralog* class. The *lathi* is a strong and heavy bamboo staff about 5 feet long, generally bound at intervals with brass or wire. Outside Calcutta Miss Ghosal's influence was noticed chiefly in Mymensingh and Dacca. She visited the former in April, 1905, and became patroness of the *Surhid Samiti*; before her visit this was a non-political body, but inspired by her enthusiasm it developed into a dangerous centre and had to be proscribed as an unlawful association in January, 1909. She also started in Mymensingh two celebrations in imitation of the Shivaji festivals held in the Maratha country (see page 15), the hero of one of them being [8] Pratapaditya (see page 10). Miss Ghosal's connection with Dacca was less direct, but the head of the revolutionary society there, Pulin Behari Das, had been a pupil of her fencing-master Murtaza.

THE NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS

The principal agency used to enforce the boycott in Calcutta and throughout both the provinces of divided Bengal was the organization known as the "National Volunteers". It was not confined to Bengal, nor were its activities limited to the boycott. A very elaborate scheme for an All-India Volunteer League, with B.G. Tilak of Poona as President, was drawn up; but like many

better schemes it came to nothing. What actually happened in most parts of India was that bands of young men in a sort of uniform were collected on special occasions to attend on leading agitators, show people into their seats at meetings and make themselves generally useful. The following quotation from the *Bengalee* of Calcutta, dated 3rd December, 1907, describes the position correctly enough except as regards Bengal and Eastern Bengal. "Once again we say that there are no 'national volunteers' in the sense of a national organisation. If there is a public function people combine together for the time being to discharge it. On the occasion of Conferences and Congresses there are volunteers enrolled for the particular purpose and occasion. The purpose over, the organisation is dissolved. If in any place there is any apprehension of rowdyism—and we have lost all confidence in our police protectors—then the young and the able-bodied combine to protect the lives and properties of the people. Is there anything wrong or seditious in this? Such organisations have so far not formed part of any extensive national movement."

The remark "apprehension of rowdyism" leads to the next point, the great development of the volunteer movement in Eastern Bengal. When the Partition took place the state of Hindu-Mahomedan feeling in Eastern Bengal, never very cordial, became very bad. The Hindus rightly or wrongly considered that the Mahomedans were taking things with a high hand, while the Mahomedans possibly thought that their improved status [9] enabled them to retaliate for some of the oppression they had suffered at the hands of Hindu landlords and petty officials in the past. Great offence was taken by the Hindus at a speech delivered by the Lieutenant-Governor soon after the Province of Eastern Bengal was constituted. Referring to the Hindu-Mahomedan question he said he was like a man with two wives, and the Mahomedan was the favourite wife. This the Hindus interpreted as meaning that the Mahomedans would have it all their own way, and accordingly they decided that they must organise themselves for defence against the Mahomedan aggressor. At the same time the conduct of the Mahomedans was not in all cases such as to remove this impression. Bands of young Hindus of the better class, under the name of Volunteers, were therefore collected in the principal towns, nominally for self-defence. In the minds of many Hindus this was, no doubt, the real object, and these volunteer bands received great popular support. But the agitators had other objects in view, as is shown by the fact

that they organised volunteers in places outside Eastern Bengal, for example in Calcutta, where there was no "apprehension of rowdyism" on the part of the Mahomedans.

OBJECTS OF THE MOVEMENT

Besides interfering with the sale of foreign goods by picketing shops, and on many occasions by destroying the goods, the volunteers of Bengal assisted at political meetings, as in other parts of India, and also made a point of attending the large fairs and pilgrimages held throughout the province by way of helping the pilgrims. It must be admitted that on several occasions they did quite useful work, notably, as the Bengali press never tired of repeating, at the *Ardhodaya Yog* in Calcutta in February, 1908. This was a pilgrimage attended by tens of thousands from all over Bengal, and about 1,000 ordinary volunteers and 200 more organised as a medical corps* were collected for the occasion. As it was the intention of the promoters to show that the volunteers were not only harmless but useful, their behaviour was exemplary and they received the thanks of the Commissioner of Police. Their attendance on such occasions [10] served the treble purpose of giving the young men training in organisation, popularising the volunteer movement, and suggesting to the crowds that the volunteers were superseding the police. On this matter a nationalist may be allowed to speak for himself; in the *Bande Mataram* of Calcutta, dated 7th March, 1908, an account appeared of their services at a pilgrimage to Chandranath from which the following is taken. "The organisation was a perfect success, and for some days it was as if the Government of the Sitakunda had come into the hands of the Volunteers, composed of pleaders, doctors and traders. All sorts of complaints were lodged in their camp, many missing pilgrims and articles were restored, thieves were handed over to the police. Pilgrims were heard saying that when *Bande Mataram* has come there is no fear. Blessings were then showered upon the Volunteers. The Police acted in co-operation, and helped the work of the Volunteers."

On the whole the volunteers even when they purported to aid the police were more a hindrance than a help, and their activities in support of the boycott become more than a nuisance; but their importance lies mainly in the fact that, throughout both the old and the new Province, the volunteer bands prepared the way

for the formation of organised dacoity gangs which were recruited mainly from their ranks.

HERO-WORSHIP

In the account of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca (see page 154) it will be seen that the "physical force" movement in Bengal owed a great deal to the cult of Shivaji, which the agitators from the West of India attempted to introduce into Bengal. Unfortunately Shivaji was not a very suitable hero to hold up to the admiration of a Province in which the depredations committed by the Maratha hordes, and the terror they inspired in the days of their success, were still remembered in popular song and story. For this reason the Bengali revolutionaries thought it better to set up a hero of thier own, and eventually one was selected in the person of Pratapaditya of Jessor who headed an unsuccessful rebellion against Moghul rule in the days of Aurangzebe. Barindra [11] Kumar Ghose, the leader of the Maniktolla Conspiracy (see page 136), went so far as to try to discover one of his descendants in order to make him the figure-head of the revolution, but the only suitable claimant whom he could find proved to be an impostor. A life of the hero, under the title *Maharaj Pratapaditya*, was written up, and a copy of this work, presented as a prize by the National College of Calcutta to Birendra Chandra Sen (see page 147), was found in the search of his house in Sylhet. Another copy bearing the name of Arabindo Ghose was found in the house of Jotin Banerji (see page 152) when he was arrested, and the book was one of the popular works in the library of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca. It was evidently the intention of the revolutionaries to hold an annual Pratapaditya festival on the lines of the Shivaji celebration; a pamphlet on this subject was circulated in Benares in 1908, at the instance of the Yugantar gang of Calcutta, but the arrest of the Maniktolla conspirators before the celebration could be organised on popular lines caused the proposal to be dropped and it has not been taken up again.

MADRAS

TOUR OF B. C. PAL

In 1907 the quiet of the Madras Presidency was disturbed by the visit of Bepin Chandra Pal of Calcutta who came down the East Coast in April, lecturing at the more important towns on

the way, and arriving at Madras City on May 1st. At that time he was openly revolutionary in his views, as a perusal of his own exposition of the ethics of physical force will make clear (see page 44). It is unnecessary, therefore, to go at great length into the speeches delivered on this tour; the subjects on which he spoke were *Swaraj*, *Swadeshi* and Boycott (see page 6) and a favourite form of argument was that, as the people had lost faith in the generosity and justice of the British Government, constitutional agitation was useless. As to what he meant by *Swaraj* he said in the course of a speech delivered at Madras on May 2nd, "The time has come when in the interest of truth and the civic advancement and freedom of the people, our British friends should be [12] distinctly told that while we are thankful to them for all the kind things they have said all these years for us, and the ready sacrifice they have made to make our lot easy and their yoke light, we cannot any longer suffer to be guided by them in our attempts for political progress and emancipation. Their weapon is not ours; they desire to make the Government in India popular without ceasing in any sense to be essentially British. We desire to make it autonomous, absolutely free of the British Parliament." This statement was received with loud cheers and shouts of *Bande Mataram*.

BRITISH POWER A DELUSION

In the same speech he explained that the apparent power of the English in India was pure illusion or *Maya*. The passage is worth quoting. "Who governs India, Sir? It is we who govern India. How? How? Go to any district. How many Englishmen are there in a district? Sometimes two, sometimes three, sometimes four, but never more than half a dozen; and to whose tune do the Magistrates, the Police Superintendents and the Judges play? The Police superintendent answers to the tune of the Inspector and the Inspector is your man. The Magistrate answers to the tune of the Huzur Sheristadar and the Huzur Sheristadar is your man. It is the Judge who adjudicates. He adjudicates properly more often by light of the native officials and the native lawyers than by his own imported light. Let me ask, who keeps the peace of the country? It is my constable, my chowkidar, my head constable and my sub-inspector. They are Hindus, Mahomedans or Christians. They are all either brown or black, never white. Those sit on the top and receive the

fattest pay, but we do the most trouble-some, the most arduous, the most difficult, complex and complicated work. The administrative machinery would come to a standstill if we drew ourselves away from it. Then my dear friends, if it is so, what is the secret of this? Is it hypnotism? Is it not magic? Is it incantation? What is it then? (A voice, "Poverty"). That is quite a different matter. No, it is hypnotism. It is *Maya*, *Maya*, *Maya*, and in the recognition of the magic character of the British power in India lies the strength [13] of the new movement. What we want is this; to remove this *Maya*, to dispel this illusion, to kill and destroy this hypnotism."

EFFECTS OF THE VISIT

Speeches of this kind naturally created a certain amount of excitement, and as special attention was given to students and school-boys it is not surprising that there was a strike of students at the Government College, Rajahmundry, on April 24th, five days after B. C. Pal left. Another place visited by him was Cocanada, and the result was an epidemic of insolence towards Europeans, such as shouting "Bande Mataram" at them in the streets. On May 31st a boy who did this to the District Medical Officer had his ears boxed, and the same night the European Club where he was dining was attacked and wrecked by a mob. If B. C. Pal's tour had continued similar results might have been expected elsewhere, but the news of Lala Lajpatrai's deportation from the Punjab on May 9th brought it to a close. A large crowd had assembled on the evening of the 10th of May to hear him speak, but he did not appear, and leaflets were distributed which informed the audience that "As a mark of sorrow at Lala Lajpat Rai's arrest and deportation, Mr. Pal's lecture announced for this evening is abandoned".

B. C. Pal left next day for Calcutta and the arrangements made to receive him in many districts south of Madras were cancelled. The effect of his visit was felt for some time. Meetings were held by G. Subramania Aiyar, Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva and others, principally in Madras, Tinnevely and Tuticorin, in which they followed his teaching, and the excitement thereby created culminated in serious riots in Tinnevely and Tuticorin in February and March of the following year. Chidambaram Pillai, and Subramania Siva were prosecuted in connection with these events and convicted, the sentences finally awarded by the High Court being six years' im-

prisonment each. After this there was little trouble in Madras; the murder of Mr. Ashe, Collector of Tinnevely, in June 1911, was instigated from a different source as will appear later (see page 202).

BOMBAY

B. G. TILAK

In describing the origin of the physical force party in Bengal (see Chapter VI) reference is made to the influence of Maratha agitators, and it will be noticed that the Maniktolla bomb conspiracy (see Chapter V) derived much of its inspiration from the Native State of Baroda on the Bombay side. Political agitation of a revolutionary character was no new thing in the Bombay Presidency; its history centres round the name of Balwant or Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the owner of the *Kesari* (or Lion), a weekly paper published in Poona in the Marathi language which expresses the most extreme views and enjoys the largest circulation of any vernacular organ in India.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was born on the 23rd of July, 1856, at Ratnagiri in the Bombay Presidency; his father was in Government service, and when he died in 1872 was Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector. B. G. Tilak took the B.A. degree with honours from the Deccan College, Poona, in 1875, and obtained the LL.B. in Bombay in 1879. On 2nd January, 1880, he opened the New English School in Poona, and the same year he started the *Kesari* which has been already mentioned and also the *Mahratta*, an English weekly (see page 91). In 1882 Tilak and his friend Agarkar, as editors and publishers of these two papers, were tried in the Bombay High Court for defamation contained in comments on a Kolhapur political case and sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment each in each of two cases, the sentences to run concurrently. In 1884 Tilak and his friends started the Deccan Educational Society which in 1885 opened its own college, called the Fergusson College after the Governor of Bombay, and here for the next five years he worked as a Professor of Mathematics and Science. In 1890 Tilak left the society, and about the same time he obtained sole control of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*.

In the agitation against the "Age of Consent" Bill he made a bid for popularity and became the leader of the 'Extreme' party, or 'Orthodox' as it was then^[15] called. From this time onwards he was a persistent opponent of Government, his policy being to

obtain Self-Government by any means possible, favouring even rebellion if it had any chance of success. He is said, however, to have been against the Bengal bomb outrages of 1908 as he considered a resort to violence at that time premature. His influence in the Deccan and the whole Persidency was very great, and a well-informed Poona Missionary, writing, shortly after they took place, about the Punjab deportations of 1907 and a suggestion that Tilak should be similarly treated, expressed the opinion that no Government would dare to arrest him.

THE SHIVAJI MOVEMENT

In order to foster feelings of opposition to Government Tilak relied mainly on hero-worship and religion, holding annual festivals in honour of the Maratha hero Shivaji, represented as a successful rebel against alien Moslem rule over the Maratha country, and of Ganapati, the Hindu god of wisdom and success. To avoid any appearance of bias Tilak's own account of the Shivaji movement is given here as reported in the *Bengalee* newspaper dated 8th June, 1906; the speech was made at the Shivaji Festival in Calcutta.

According to this report, "He said that *Swadeshi* was most urgently required at the present moment. We ought to be *Swadeshi* in everything. He said that it was a most disgraceful state of things that anyone should be required to be told of his duties to his motherland. They should be patriots from their very birth. Swadeshism is a thing to be drunk with the mother's milk. It is a sentiment to be entertained in the heart from the very birth. The Britons cannot help opposing the *Swadeshi* movement. The first alien Government was the British Government. The Mahomedans differed from us in religion and many things; but they did not send away the money they received here to foreign lands. We should be fools indeed if we hoped to gain sympathy from the Government in the *Swadeshi* cause. Another class of foes were the Government native servants. They have sold themselves. They cannot even tell the truth. If they cannot keep up their manliness why not abstain from Government[16] service altogether? Shivaji was a true *Swadeshi*. He had to go against his father who was a Government servant. To the younger generation he advised that they should go against their parents rather than give up the *Swadeshi* cause. The motherland was far superior to their parents, *Swadeshi* should be their watchword. He was a *Swadeshi* and they had started it

21 years ago in Maharashtra. When the Bengali *Swadeshi* movement gave the Marathas an impulse they burnt Manchester cloth. This was taken objection to by the *Pioneer* and the *Bombay Times*. A strong feeling and sentiment of disgust against everything *Bideshi* (foreign) must be impressed upon the younger generation, and this is effected by the burning of *Bideshi* articles. Every attempt should be made to make the *Swadeshi* our ideal. The Marathas do not speak of boycott, they term it *Bahishkar*. Twentyfive years ago Ganesh Mahadeo Joshi used to wear the coarsest *Swadeshi* cloth. He is now dead. He spread the *Swadeshi* in Maharashtra. The Government has destroyed our arts and industries. He knew not what right the Government had to oppose the *Swadeshi*. Government has failed in its duties. They are taking away crores of rupees from us. They are afraid of Russia, they say. If they allowed the Indians to get strong they could march to St. Petersburg from Calcutta and teach the Russians a lesson. The Indians should stand on their own legs. India should be bound together by ties of brotherhood, friendship, etc., so that in the hour of need the different peoples of India might come to each other's help. God has not forsaken us. A Shivaji would yet come and lead us to glory and prosperity. He urged everybody to work on disinterestedly in the *Swadeshi* cause. Shivaji would then come forward to help them."

The point about the word "bahishkar" used in this speech is that it is the word for "expulsion from caste" and therefore suggests the most extreme form of boycott to a Hindu. This is the version of the Maratha leader's speech published in a "moderate" Bengal newspaper, and, as may be imagined, the speeches delivered to less sophisticated audiences by Tilak himself, and by followers less deft in the use of words, were certainly not less plain.

Speaking, for example, at a Shivaji celebration at [17] Akola, in the Central Provinces, on 4th May, 1908, Tilak said one could not get fruit from a tree without climbing, and although some might fall the end would be attained. A start had been made towards the goal of national independence, and they should not mind even death in attaining their holy end. Again at the Shivaji Festival at Poona on June 14th of the same year he said "Until two short years ago the authorities could not see anything but froth in our political activities. Now they admit that there is something better than froth—real life—in those activities. The Secretary of State for India now condescends to admit that some

of our activities are full of significance, full of life, and ought to be attended to with all seriousness." Regarding the Festival itself he said, "Its political aspect cannot be ignored and we never ignored it," and proceeded, "The Shivaji Festival which has now seen its 13th year is full of this necessary life; there is the certificate from the authorities of the existence of the life; hence over-nice people should have no further scruples in throwing in their lot with the agitators. Remember the times ahead are gradually getting harder and harder; therefore we must make the agitation which is set on foot a complete success; mark you, we have to fight with certain people; that fight has but just commenced. Don't be discouraged at this stage, otherwise your agitation will be doomed." They must keep the ideal of independence always before them and they must be prepared to face the vicissitudes of life with courage and patience. "The people of Bengal have shown a bold front to their misfortunes; it is now the turn of the Maharashtra to meet the situation. I cannot adequately describe the nature of the situation. We are in darkness; we are groping our way out into light."

S. M. PARANJPE

As a specimen of the oratory of one of his followers the speeches of S. M. Paranjpe at the Shivaji Festival held in Baroda in the same year may be taken. Paranjpe was editor of the Marathi newspaper *Kal* of Poona which was second only to the *Kesari* as an extremist organ (see page 99). In the course of one speech he said he was in favour of the study of history by demonstration, and the study by an English student of the Boer war might be [18]called the study of history by demonstration. The emotions created in his mind by reading the news of the war and the reverses of the British taught him the great problem of history. A better example still was the history of Japan, because the Japanese fought for independence. Next day he explained why Shivaji had adopted the system of guerilla warfare, and told the audience that Penal Codes were not applicable to a man like Shivaji, and their notions were not to be viewed in the light of Penal Codes. It became necessary to resort to guerilla warfare when the enemy was powerful.

OTHER CELEBRATIONS

To restrict the agitation to annual celebrations of the birth and the coronation of Shivaji would have left the intervals too

wide for their purpose, and accordingly Tilak and his followers celebrated also Ramdas, the post and reputed *guru* (religious preceptor) of Shivaji, and turned the annual worship of the god Ganpati into a political demonstration. The Ramdas celebration came in February, Shivaji's birthday in April and coronation in June, and the Ganpati worship in September, so that the year was fairly well divided. Ramdas was represented as having inspired Shivaji with his ideas of independence, and as the prototype of the educated agitator and founder of secret societies. The Ganpati worship was already popular with the public on religious grounds, and it was taken up by the Tilak party as the best means of reaching Hindus of all classes and castes, and of giving the necessary religious touch to the movement for national independence.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

It is convenient here to mention the temperance crusade on which Tilak embarked in 1908, as the picketing of shops undertaken in connection with it created a good deal of trouble in Poona and led to an assault on Mr. Anderson, I.C.S., on April 5th. Speaking at a meeting at Sholapur on the 2nd of March, 1908, Tilak said that drinking was prohibited by both the Hindu and the Mahomedan religion, and it was only Christianity, the religion of the rulers, which permitted it. The English had demoralised them; they took from them 10 crores of [19] rupees annually and taught them to drink. They should not allow a liquor shop-keeper to enter their village; if they were hanged for destroying a liquor shop it did not matter. The object of the extremists in taking up this question is clearly exposed in the following passage from one of their own newspapers, the *Bande Mataram* of Calcutta:—"So far the Maharashtra has been remarkably quiet, but at last the inevitable clash between bureaucracy and people has come and it finds the beneficial British Government in the position of an armed champion of drunkenness, standing behind the liquor-dealer with the sword of the executive and the terrors of the law to compel vice and crush temperance A Government shamelessly standing forth as the champion of vice, and that a Government of the Britisher, the self-righteous Pharisee of the Nations with the famous non-conformist conscience at back, is a sight indeed."

THE PRESS CAMPAIGN

Tilak's press campaign opened in 1880 with the publication of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* newspapers in Poona, the former in the Marathi language and the latter in English, and about 1890 he obtained sole control of these papers. As mentioned in the speeches quoted above the Shivaji Celebration was started by him about 1895, and was accompanied by a great deal of seditious agitation in the Maratha Brahmin community of Poona and the Deccan generally, which was reflected not only in Tilak's papers but in other local organs. In the spring of 1897 plague was very bad in Poona, and an attempt was made by Government to stamp it out; a Mr. Rand, I.C.S., was appointed Special Plague Commissioner, and in carrying out the measures which were considered necessary European troops were employed. Mr. Rand was already unpopular with the Maratha Brahmins; in 1894, as magistrate at Wai, a place of considerable sanctity in the Satara District, he had convicted some Brahmins in connection with disturbances in the town. The plague measures in themselves were also extremely unpopular; if the Englishman's house is his castle, the Brahmin's house is his temple, and the feelings of the community in this matter were not understood by the British soldier, and in some cases apparently not respected. In April, [20] 1897, very strong articles on the subject appeared in the Poona press. The *Kesari* of April 27th charged the Government with being cognisant of the *zulm* (oppression) which was being perpetrated, and warned them "not to try the patience of the people of Poona any longer, or to drive them to find a way of escape at any hazard from their present wrong." The *Kalpatra* called the authorities butchers, and threatened a repetition of the scenes of the Mutiny, the *Maharashtra Mitra* exhorted Hindus and Mahomedans alike to rise in revolt, and the *Sudharak* described the soldiers as "barbarous brutes and wild bulls," and urged the people of Poona to call on the countryside to rise and resist them. The charges made against the soldiers were greatly exaggerated and frequently false. Even the account contributed to the *Manchester Guardian* of July 1st, 1897, by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who was then in England, on evidence described by him as overwhelming, was so inaccurate that he had to withdraw all the more serious allegations. At the same time the plague measures caused grave discontent; for this Mr. Rand was

held mainly responsible, and a plot was accordingly laid to murder him.

THE POONA MURDERS

On the evening of June 22nd, 1897, there was a State Banquet in honour of the Diamond Jubilee at Government House, and as he was driving home along the dark road Ganesh Khind to Poona Mr. Rand was shot from behind by a Brahmin of 28 years of age named Damodar Hari Chapekar, and died ten days later. At the same time Lieutenant C. A. Ayerst, who was driving home with his wife in the carriage next after Mr. Rand's, was shot through the head and killed by one of Chapekar's accomplices named Mahadev Vinayak Ranade.

THE CHAPEKAR BROTHERS

There were three Chapekar brothers in the plot, Damodar, Balkrishna and Wasudev, the sons of a mendicant Brahmin *pujari* (priest) named Hari Chapekar of Poona. Mainly on information given by two Brahmin brothers, G. S. and R. S. Dravid, Damodar Chapekar was arrested in Bombay in October, 1897, and confessed his guilt; he admitted that his accomplice was his brother Bal[21]krishna, and explained that they had tracked Mr. Rand for weeks before the murder, looking for a favourable opportunity. He was found guilty of the murder on 3rd February, 1898, and executed on April 18th. Meantime search was being made for his brother Balkrishna, who had absconded, and he was arrested in December, 1898, in Hyderabad State where he had found refuge, with a gang of decoits. He also made a confession disclosing his own part in the plot, but before he was placed on his trial further developments took place. When the murders were committed a reward of Rs. 20,000 was proclaimed, and after Damodar was arrested half this sum was paid to the informers, the two brothers Dravid. On the arrest of Balkrishna they claimed the remaining half, and when this was refused G. S. Dravid wrote a letter to the press protesting against the injustice of Government in withholding what was due to them. But a different reward was in store; on the night of the 8th February, 1899, the two brothers were called away from a game of cards in the upper room of a house in Poona, on the pretext that they were wanted by the police, and when they reached the street they were shot by two men who were lying in wait and died next day. Suspicion fell on the third Chapekar brother, Wasudev,

and on M. V. Ranade whose name has been already mentioned, and next day they were taken to the police station where the former drew out a pistol and attempted to shoot Head Constable Ramji Pandu who had taken a prominent part in all these enquiries. The bullet missed its mark and Wasudev was secured. He and Ranade admitted the murder of the Dravids, as well as an attempt to shoot Head Constable Ramji Pandu in the street a few days before, which failed only because the bullet fell out of the pistol before the shot was fired. They also admitted their complicity in the Jubilee Day murders, and were placed on their trial for this along with Balkrishna and separately for the murder of the informers. In March, 1899, they were all three found guilty, and executed in May.

A LINK WITH BENGAL

There was little evidence on record against the Chapekars except their own statements, which corroborated each other and were verified in detail where this was possible, and [22] it was believed by many that they were not the real perpetrators of the 1897 murders, but that Damodar Chapekar had confessed through a morbid desire for notoriety or to screen others. If there was a widespread conspiracy it was never brought to light; but the Chapekars became the heroes of the seditious party, and the Chapekar Clubs of Poona and Kolhapur carried on the tradition of assassination. There is one curious link with the Bengal Conspiracy of ten years later which is perhaps worth recording. The father of the murderers, the old Brahmin priest Hari Chapekar, went to Amraoti in December, 1898, and held so-called religious meetings there for about a fortnight. It is on record that the meetings of the 29th and 30th December were held in the house of G. S. Khaparde; this is the well-known friend of B. G. Tilak who accompanied him to the Shivaji celebration in Calcutta, in 1906, which gave so strong an impetus to the cult of the bomb in Bengal.

PUNJAB

SEDITIONOUS AGITATION

At the beginning of 1907, a wave of seditious agitation starting from Lahore, Lyallpur and Ferozepore spread over almost the whole Province. The fiftieth anniversary of the Indian Mutiny, which broke out on the 10th of May, 1857, was approach-

ing, and whether this had any influence with the leaders in choosing their time or not, it is certain that the Mutiny was frequently referred to in speeches, and the Punjabis were reminded that it was largely owing to the loyalty of the Sikh regiments that it was suppressed. As in other parts of India the agitators took advantage of existing grievances, the principal cause of which here was the Colonisation Bill. A large area in the Lyallpur District had been turned from a desert into a garden by the Chenab Canal, and colonised by picked cultivators from the most congested districts of Central Punjab who were thereby raised from poverty to affluence. Towards the end of 1906 a Bill was introduced in the Punjab Council in order to establish uniformity of tenure and better administration in the Canal Colony, and shortly after this the cry of breach of faith was raised [23] against Government. Again on the Bari Doab Canal, in the Lahore District, the water rates had been recently enhanced and this was resented by the cultivators. These grievances were assiduously worked up into anti-Government, and, by an easy transition, anti-British feeling which led to assaults on Europeans in Lahore and Rawal Pindi. The trouble in the Lyallpur district was the most dangerous for two reasons; first because special attention was directed to military pensioners of whom the colony was full, and secondly because it spread naturally from there to the districts from which the canal colonists originally came. Not only the pensioners but the Sikh regiments were approached, and at Ferozepore several hundred sepoys attended a most seditious meeting to which they had been specially invited. The campaign of sedition in the press and on the platform led to a situation which was described by the Lieutenant-Governor at the end of April, 1907, as exceedingly serious, exceedingly dangerous, and urgently demanding a remedy.

LAJPATRAI AND AJIT SINGH

The two leaders of the seditious movement were Lala Lajpatrai and Munshi Ajit Singh. The former, a pleader in Lahore, was the most prominent of the "intellectuals" associated with the movement; keeping as far as possible in the back-ground he was everywhere recognised as the moving spirit of the agitation. The latter was a *munshi*, or teacher of Oriental languages to Europeans, in Lahore, one of whose pupils in 1906 was a Russian suspect named Lasseff. He was much more prominent as a speaker than Lajpatrai, and his speeches were much more violent, but as a leader he was of minor importance. For several rea-

sons it was considered undesirable to prosecute these men in the ordinary way, an recourse was had to the provisions of Regulation III of 1818 under which warrants were issued on the 7th of May, 1907, for their arrest and deportation to Mandalay. Lajpatrai was arrested on the 9th at his home in Lahore, and Ajit Singh, who absconded, was found in hiding in Amritsar on the 2nd of June. The following November they were brought back to Lahore, and released. The deportations had an immediate effect in calming the agitation for a time, not only in the Punjab but all over India. It was [24] evident to everyone that the sudden flash of Government lightning had cleared the air, for even in places where there was no open agitation the political atmosphere had been growing more threatening and oppressive as the 10th of May approached. Not least remarkable was the effect of this measure in cutting short the lecturing tour of Bepin Chandra Pal in Madras, which bid fair to put the whole of Southern India in an uproar (see page 11). In many places meetings were held to protest against the deportations and express sympathy with the victims, but they did not meet with much popular support, and in the Punjab itself revolutionary agitation was at a discount for the next two years.

THE UNITED PROVINCES

During the troubles in the Punjab in 1907 there were hardly any signs of unrest in the neighbouring United Provinces, but as Benares afterwards became a centre of revolutionary conspiracy of few points connected with it may be noted here. Benares is to the Hindus one of the holiest cities in India, and it is constantly being visited by pilgrims from all over the country; the arrival of strangers in a city which is full of strangers consequently attracts little attention, and its advantages as a meeting place and as a harbour of refuge for absconders was recognised by the revolutionnary leaders. In the city there are separate quarters called *mahallas* inhabited by colonies from other parts of India, such as *Bengalitola*, containing over 10,000 Bengalis, and smaller *mahallas* in which the Marathas and the Madrassis reside, and this arrangement naturally affords great facilities for concealment and for meetings between emissaries from different parts of India.

MARATHAS IN BENARES

One of the first signs of sedition in Benares was the appearance in 1900 of a paper which was called *Kalidas* after a

celebrated Marathi poet ; it came out just after a visit to the city of B. G. Tilak (see page 11) and was edited by a Maratha Brahmin of Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency who afterwards went to live near Poona. The paper did not last long, as proceedings were taken against the editor and his son for sedition and they [25] were bound down in a sum of Rs. 8,000 under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. After this things were quiet for a time, but Tilak again appeared on the scene in January, 1906, accompanied on this occasion by Professor Bijapurkar of Kolhapur, S. M. Paranjpe (see page 99) and W. G. Joshi, the manager of a press at Poona called the *Chitrashala* (Picture School) which specialised in pictures of nationalist and not infrequently seditious tendencies. This visit was followed by an attempt in the next year to hold a Shivaji Festival (see page 15), a movement obviously inspired by Tilak, and a procession on a grand scale was organised; owing to the grossly seditious character of a speech delivered by Sundar Lal, one of the promoters, shortly before it was to take place, permission for the procession was refused. It is evident therefore that there was in 1907 a certain amount of sedition abroad amongst the Maratha community of Benares, tracing back, like similar phenomena in other parts of India, to Tilak and his following of Poona Brahmins.

BENGALIS IN BENARES

Amongst the Bengalis in Benares there were several who were closely connected with the revolutionary movement in Calcutta, principally through Pandit Mokhoda Charan Samadhyaya who was constantly running up and down between the two places. He was a professor in the National College, Calcutta, and after the death of Brahmo Bandhab Upadhyaya he became the editor and general director of the *Sandhya* newspaper (see page 78). One of his closest associates in Benares was a certain Suranath Bhaduri, son of Somnath Bhaduri, a curious character who was intimately concerned in the conspiracy in Calcutta and afterwards attempted to sell his information to the authorities. His father was one of the pioneers of nationalism in Benares, and in the Bengali year 1309 (1902-3), he published a book called *Gangajal* which conveyed revolutionary lessons under the guise of religion. In particular it contains a passage in which the writer, addressing the god Sri Krishna, says, "The *mlechhas* (untouchables, and abusive term for non-Hindus, here used for foreigners) are carrying away to their own country the riches and

intelligence of India, and the Vedas (sacred books) and the religion of India are being trampled[26] under the feet of foreign nations. Wilt thou come and uproot the *mlechhas* and make India free?" To this Sri Krishna replies, "I have come, descending upon India. The auspicious hour is here; in my name advance boldly like heroes." The reference here is to the promise of Sri Krishna contained in a passage in the Bhagwat Gita; it is believed that the author's son Suranath Bhaduri had a good deal to do with the adoption of this verse as the motto of the *Yugantar* newspaper (see page 50).

Suranath Bhaduri was certainly in Calcutta at the beginning of 1908, associating with the *Yugantar* and *Sandhya* gangs, and in April of that year he returned to Benares where he established a branch of the Anusilan Samiti with the help of Sachindra Nath Sanyal, a student in the entrance class of the Bengalitola High School who will be heard of again. It was not till the Autumn of 1908 that enquiries arising out of disclosures in Calcutta began to be made into the Benares connection, and later developments will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

CENTRAL PROVINCES

G. S. KHAPARDE

From the point of view of seditious agitation the Central Provinces may be regarded as directly under the influence of Poona, and most of the agitation centres round the name of G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti and his friends. Ganesh Srikrishna Khaparde, B.A., LL.B., was born about 1857, a Brahmin of humble origin whose family derives its name from Khaparda, a village in Akola District. His father was a clerk in one of the Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry Messes, and accompanied the regiment to Delhi during the mutiny. He then obtained a civil appointment in Berar and rose to the rank of Extra Assistant Commissioner. He was an able, but by repute an unscrupulous magistrate, and died a rich man and the proprietor of houses and lands in 1893. G. S. Khaparde matriculated at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1878. He became a B.A., and was appointed Fellow of Sanskrit and English by the Bombay University; in 1885 he took the LL.B. He was appointed direct as Extra Assistant Commissioner in Berar, but failing to obtain the promotion he expected[27] to Assistant Commissioner he resigned after three years and started as a pleader. At his best he is said to have made about Rs. 4,000 a month. From about 1890 he

became a popular leader, and in 1907 he was Vice-President of Amraoti Municipality and of the District Board, having served on them continuously for 17 years. His personal intimacy with Tilak dates back to 1897, when Khaparde's son was married to the daughter of Sirdar Baba Maharaj of Poona, a great friend of Tilak. Before his death the Sirdar appointed Tilak and Khaparde, with others, trustees of his estate; the trustees quarrelled with the widow, Tai Maharaj, and out of this arose the famous Tai Maharaj adoption case. Tilak was convicted of perjury in connection with it by a special Magistrate, and this was confirmed and the sentence reduced by the Sessions Judge of Poona, but the High Court of Bombay acquitted him.

The idea of boycotting British goods seems to have originated with G. S. Khaparde, for it is on record that he convened a meeting for this purpose as early as 1896. In 1897 the National Congress met at Amraoti, and Khaparde was President of the Reception Committee. During the following years he became more and more prominent as an agitator, and his influence throughout the west of India was second only to Tilak's and probably exceeded it in Berar.

HIS CONNECTION WITH CONSPIRACY

Khaparde has been mixed up in many dangerous matters. He is known to have been in correspondence with some of the principal persons concerned in the Poona murders of 1897, and one of the actual assassins, the elder Chapekar, is known to have visited Khaparde disguised as a ballad singer a short time before the murders were committed. As has already been mentioned in this chapter the father of the Chapekar brothers visited Amraoti at the end of 1898 and held meetings in Khaparde's house. Again about the time of the Royal visit to Hyderabad a Nepalese named Rudra Narayan Partab Jung was arrested in suspicious circumstances at Bolarum, but escaped and came straight to Amraoti, across country, disguised as a mendicant. He was found to [28] have a *kukri* and a sharp dagger, and was prosecuted under the Arms Act. On his conviction one of Khaparde's men collected money and paid his fine. In 1908 one of the principal accused in the Maniktolla Garden bomb case said that he had visited Khaparde at Amraoti to tell him that the revolutionary party in Bengal were prepared to make bombs, and to ask for the subscriptions which Khaparde had promised. He also said that Khaparde had sent B. H. Kane, a youth belonging to Nagpur who was con-

victed in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case but acquitted in appeal, to Calcutta to learn the manufacture of bombs.

HIS VISIT TO ENGLAND

In August, 1907, Khaparde went to England in connection with Tilak's appeal. There he associated with the leading extremists, and the prospectus of B. C. Pal's seditious *Swaraj* magazine was signed by Khaparde and Pal jointly. Khaparde took the chair at one of the "India House" Sunday meetings on October 11th, 1908, and in his speech described *Bande Mataram* as "the war cry of every true Indian". After the assassination of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie (1st July, 1909) a correspondent reported that in the course of a conversation V. D. Savarkar said that Khaparde was a sympathiser with such deeds. "Khaparde came to B. C. Pal's house the other day and said that still there was work to be done ; one assassination was not sufficient." Khaparde returned to India in 1910. He sailed direct to Rangoon and after going to see Tilak at Mandalay returned to Amraoti.

The methods adopted by the agitators in the Central Provinces were the same as those in the Presidency of Bombay. Shivaji celebrations were frequently held in the principal towns and the worship of Ganpati was turned into a nationalist demonstration. The part played by G. S. Khaparde in introducing the cult of Shivaji into Bengal has been noticed elsewhere (see page 155) and the facts mentioned above raise considerable suspicion that he was cognisant of the doings of the Maniktolla conspirators. One of his followers went so far as to publish a picture which suggested that Khaparde was the father of the bomb in Bengal, but too much reliance [29] should not perhaps be placed on the views of an admiring enthusiast.

B. S. MOONJE

One of Khaparde's most prominent lieutenants in the early days of the agitation was Balkrishna Shivram Munje, generally known as Dr. Munje (or Moonje as he spells it himself) of Nagpur. In the South African war Dr. Munje served as a Medical Officer, and he had a grievance arising out of his treatment there. He accompanied Tilak and Khaparde on the Shivaji expedition to Calcutta in 1906, and was in 1907 and the next few years the leading extremist in Nagpur.

SIGNS OF DISAFFECTION-

The agitation in the Central Provinces was not accompanied by any very serious outrages or disturbances; but one or two assaults, a few strikes by mill hands and students, and the occasional defacement of Royal statues and memorials, and of similar pictures in one or two schools were an indication of the disaffection which existed amongst the Brahmin community. Seditious newspapers such as the *Desha Sewak* of Nagpur and the *Hari Kishore* of Amraoti kept the movement alive, and the *Kesari* of Poona (see page 91) which had a considerable circulation in the Provinces, exercised a more potent influence in the same direction. The agitation, however, was practically confined to the Brahmins, and had little popular support except from those whom they were able to influence or control.

THE LITERATURE OF THE REVOLUTION

The books of which a short account is given in this chapter are all known to have been eagerly read by the young revolutionaries of Bengal, as well-thumbed copies of each of them have been found from time to time in their various haunts. In particular the *Anusilan Samiti* of Dacca possessed a library of several hundred volumes, and a copy found there afforded a clear indication of the relative popularity of the various works it contained. Easily the first favourite was a book called *Jaliyat Clive*, or "Clive the Forger", which was taken out 13 times during the period specified. The title is enough to indicate the character of the work, the object of which is to show that British rule in India was inaugurated by forgery and fraud. One of the youths who took this book out, instead of using his own name, signed the register "Profulla Chandra Chaki"; his adoption of the name of one of the Muzaffarpore murderers (see page 139) shows what he was thinking about when he took up the study of the early days of British rule. Another historical libel of a very similar character, the life of Maharaj Nanda Kumar, better known to readers of Macaulay as Nuncomar, was issued from the library 9 times, and owes its popularity to the same causes. The second favourite was the life of Rana Pratap Singh. It was published in Calcutta in 1906, and dedicated to the student community of Bengal in the hope that they would emulate the example of Pratap Singh in heroically adhering to his vow to fight for his motherland against Akbar. Closely following these three came *Sikher Balidan* and the *Bhagwat Gita* which are mentioned below; they were taken out 8 times each. Almost equally popular were the works of Bankim Chandra Chatterji which were taken out 6 times. The most celebrated of these, and at the same time the one which events have proved appealed most strongly to the imagination of the young revolutionaries (see page 280), is the novel entitled [31] *Ananda Math* of which a short account is given here. It is easy to see how the course of reading contained in the books described in this chapter would lead a young man by easy and direct stages from the study of religion and philosophy to the use of the revolver and the bomb. The speech on *Sakti Puja* never appeared in book form;

it is included in this chapter as it is a very clear exposition of the subject by one who knew what he wanted to say and how to say it.

ANANDA MATH

A work of fiction which exercised great influence over the Bengali revolutionaries was the novel entitled *Ananda Math* (The Abbey of Bliss) by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, whom it is the fashion to call the Walter Scott of Bengal. The following account of his life is given in the preface to one of his works by an admiring translator:—"Born in 1838, Bankim soon found his way into an English School. From School to College was an easy slide. He graduated at the Hughli College, passed his law at the Presidency College at Calcutta, and was one of the first graduates of the Calcutta University. He was made a Deputy Magistrate, he obtained the title of Rai Bahadur and the distinction of the Order of a Companion of the Indian Empire was conferred on him. By the time Bankim finished his College career English education had done its work, and Bankim throbbed and palpitated with an intellectual ferment. The Occident had projected on the Orient and the new thoughts and ideas surged up for a vent. Bankim began to write novels and conduct a periodical entitled the *Bangadarshan*. The magic charm of his pen soon resuscitated the Bengali language and imparted a unique life and vigour to it. Was ever genius baffled by poverty of the language? Bankim created a new language for him and began to bring forth his immortal creations. During the latter days of his life he devoted himself to religion and religious literature, the inevitable denouement of an oriental's life-story. He wrote the life of Krishna, the Hindu incarnation of the Deity and also other religious books. His task done in this vale of tears the spirit of Bankim [32] winged its flight for its eternal home, and India was less by one of her noblest sons in May, 1894".

Ananda Math is a story of the so-called Sanyasi rebellion of 1772 to 1774. A *sanyasi* or *fakir* is a sort of religious mendicant of whom there are always hundreds of thousands roaming about everywhere in India. In the years mentioned bands of men calling themselves *sanyasis* traversed Bengal, begging, stealing and plundering wherever they went. Owing to a famine their ranks were swollen by crowds of starving peasants, and a party of sepoy sent against them, with their leader Captain Thomas, was cut off near Rangpur in January, 1773. It was not till regular operations were

undertaken that these wandering marauders were gradually suppressed.

The novel describes the adventures of one of these bands who called themselves *Santans* (Children), that is children of the Motherland. Their headquarters were in the temple called *Ananda Math*, and they were initiated by taking a vow to renounce home and friends "till the Mother is saved", to give up riches and pleasures, to conquer their passions, to make over all their earnings to the Society, to fight for the true religion and never to fly from the battle-field. They were also required to give up distinctions of caste. "All the Children belong to one caste; we do not make any distinction between Brahmins and Sudras in this great mission". The Children greeted one another with the words "Bande Mataram" (Hail! Mother) and part of the initiation ceremony was to sing the *Bande Mataram* song, a song in praise of the Motherland. Those who were initiated gave up their own names, as Hindu devotees usually do, and adopted religious names such as Bhavananda, Satyananda and Jivananda. Many ideas were afterwards borrowed from this novel by the leaders of the Bengal revolutionary societies, and the special vow taken by the members of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca (see page 154) was practically the same as that imposed upon the Children. The greeting "Bande Mataram" became the war-cry of the extremist party in Bengal; it was raised at political meetings to welcome popular leaders and to express approval of particularly exciting passages in their speeches, and also occasionally [33] as a shout of defiance of Europeans in the streets. The *Bande Mataram* song was also very frequently sung at political gatherings. It was of course invariably represented by the Bengali nationalist press that the cry of "Bande Mataram", as it meant nothing more than "Hail! Mother", must be perfectly harmless; but although the words are harmless enough they were used as an outward sign of sympathy with revolution and defiance of Government. It need scarcely be added that the novelist himself was no more a revolutionary than Sir Walter Scott was a Rob Roy; there are many passages in his works which show that he was fully alive to the benefits of settled government under British rule.

BHAWANI MANDIR

This pamphlet first came to notice in August, 1905, when a copy was sent anonymously from Baroda to the Head Clerk to the District Magistrate of Broach. There is nothing on the

pamphlet to show who the author or the publisher is, but the Head Clerk stated at the time that he thought the author was "a Mr. Bose, a Bengali Babu who is in the employ of the Baroda Durbar and once passed for the I.C.S: but was rejected for failing to pass the test in riding." Though the name is wrong this obviously refers to Arabindo Ghose, who was a Professor in the Gaekwar's College at Baroda at the time, and there is no doubt that he was the author. In the course of the searches in Calcutta in May, 1908, a copy of this pamphlet in English, with the name Barin K. Ghose on the cover, was found in the *Bande Mataram* office; a copy was also found in the bomb store at 134, Harrison Road, and another in the house of Debabrata Bose, who was committed for trial as a member of the conspiracy but acquitted.

The pamphlet is of great interest as it explains the ideas underlying the revolutionary movement centred in the Maniktolla conspiracy (see page 136), particularly the establishment of a sort of monastic retreat, or *Ashram* as it is called, for the teaching of revolutionary work. It also supplies the meaning of many of the Hindu religious terms used in revolutionary literature. As the author[34] points out, *Bhawani* is one of the manifestations of the goddess Durga; she was the tutelary goddess of Shivaji, the Maratha hero, and his celebrated sword was called after her *Bhawani*. Arabindo Ghose, who wrote the pamphlet in the capital of an important Maratha state, perhaps had this in his mind in choosing the subject and title; this would not be surprising in view of the close connection between the Shivaji movement and the cult of the bomb in Bengal (see page 155).

BHAWANI

OM

NAMAS CHANDIKAYAI

A temple is to be erected and consecrated to Bhawani, the mother, among the hills. To all the children of the mother the call is sent forth to help in the sacred work.

WHO IS BHAWANI?

Who is Bhawani, the mother, and why should we erect a temple to her?

BHAWANI IS THE INFINITE ENERGY

In the unending revolutions of the world, as the wheel of the Eternal turns mightily in its courses, the Infinite Energy, which streams forth from the Eternal and sets the wheel to work, looms up in the vision

of man in various aspects and infinite forms. Each aspect creates and marks an age. Sometimes She is Love, sometimes She is Knowledge, sometimes She is Renunciation, sometimes She is Pity. This Infinite Energy is Bhawani, She also is Durga, She is Kali, She is Radha the Beloved, She is Lakshmi, She is our Mother and the Creatress of us all.

BHAWANI IS SHAKTI

In the present age, the Mother is manifested as the mother of Strength. She is pure Shakti.

THE WHOLE WORLD IS GROWING FULL OF THE MOTHER AS SHAKTI

Let us raise our eyes and cast them upon the world around us. Wherever we turn our gaze, huge masses of strength rise before our vision, tremendous, swift and inexorable forces, gigantic figures of energy, terrible sweeping columns of force. All is growing large and strong. The Shakti of war, the Shakti of wealth, the Shakti of Science are tenfold more mighty and colossal, a hundredfold [35] more fierce, rapid and busy in their activity, a thousandfold more prolific in resources, weapons and instruments than ever before in recorded history. Everywhere the mother is at work; from her mighty and shaping hands enormous forms of Rakshasas, Asuras, Devas are leaping forth into the arena of the world. We have seen the slow but mighty rise of great empires in the West, we have seen the swift, irresistible and impetuous bounding into life of Japan. Some are *Mleccha* Shaktis clouded in their strength, black or blood-crimson with *tamas* or *rajas*, others are *Arya* Shaktis, bathed in a pure flame of renunciation and utter self-sacrifice; but all are the Mother in Her new phase, remoulding, creating. She is pouring her spirit into the old; She is whirling into life the new.

WE IN INDIA FAIL IN ALL THINGS FOR WANT OF SHAKTI

But in India the breath moves slowly, the afflatus is long in coming. India, the ancient mother, is indeed striving to be reborn, striving with agony and tears, but she strives in vain. What ails her, she who is after all so vast and might be so strong? There is surely some enormous defect, something vital is wanting in us nor is it difficult to lay our finger on the spot. We have all things else, but we are empty of strength, void of energy. We have abandoned Shakti and are therefore abandoned by Shakti. The Mother is not in our hearts, in our brains, in our arms.

The wish to be reborn we have in abundance, there is no deficiency there. How many attempts have been made, how many movements have been begun, in religion, in society, in politics! But the same fate has overtaken or is preparing to overtake them all. They flourish for a moment, then the impulse wanes, the fire dies out, and if they endure, it is only as empty shells, forms from which the Brahma has gone or in which it lies overpowered with *tamas* and inert. Our beginnings are mighty, but they have neither sequel nor fruit.

Now we are beginning in another direction; we have started a great industrial movement which is to enrich and regenerate an impoverished land. Untaught by experience, we do not perceive that this movement

must go the way of all the others, unless we first seek the one essential thing, unless we acquire strength.

OUR KNOWLEDGE IS A DEAD THING FOR WANT OF SHAKTI

Is it knowledge that is wanting? We Indians, born and bred in a country where Jnana has been stored and accumulated since the race began, bear about in us the inherited gains of many thousands of years. Great giants of knowledge rise among us even to-day to add to the store. Our capacity has not shrunk, the edge of our intellect has not been dulled or blunted, its receptivity and flexi [36] bility are as varied as of old. But it is a dead knowledge, a burden under which we are bowed, a poison which is corroding us, rather than as it should be a staff to support our feet and a weapon in our hands; for this is the nature of all great things that when they are not used or are ill used, they turn upon the bearer and destroy him.

Our knowledge then, weighed down with a heavy load of *tamas*, lies under the curse of impotence and inertia. We choose to fancy indeed, now-a-days, that if we acquire Science, all will be well. Let us first ask ourselves what we have done with the knowledge we already possess, or what have those who have already acquired Science been able to do for India. Imitative and incapable of initiative, we have striven to copy the methods of England, and we had not the strength; we would now copy the methods of the Japanese, a still more energetic people; are we likely to succeed any better? The mighty force of knowledge which European Science bestows is a weapon for the hands of a giant, it is the mace of Bheemsen; what can a weakling do with it but crush himself in the attempt to wield it?

OUR BHAKTI CANNOT LIVE AND WORK FOR WANT OF SHAKTI

Is it love, enthusiasm, Bhakti that is wanting? These are ingrained in the Indian nature, but in the absence of Shakti we cannot concentrate, we cannot direct, we cannot even preserve it. Bhakti is the leaping flame, Shakti is the fuel. If the fuel is scanty how long can the fire endure?

When the strong nature, enlightened by knowledge, disciplined and given a giant's strength by *Karma*, lifts itself up in love and adoration to God, that is the Bhakti which endures and keeps the soul for ever united with the Divine. But the weak nature is too feeble to bear the impetus of so mighty a thing as perfect Bhakti; he is lifted up for a moment, then the flame soars up to Heaven, leaving him behind exhausted and even weaker than before. Every movement of any kind of which enthusiasm and adoration are the life must fail and soon burn itself out so long as the human material from which it proceeds is frail and light in substance.

INDIA THEREFORE NEEDS SHAKTI ALONE

The deeper we look, the more we shall be convinced that the one thing wanting, which we must strive to acquire before all others, is strength—strength physical, strength mental, strength moral, but above all strength spiritual which is the one inexhaustible and imperishable

source of all the others. If we have strength everything else will be added to us easily and naturally. In the absence of strength we are like men in a dream who have hands but cannot seize or strike, who have feet but cannot run.

[37]INDIA, GROWN OLD AND DECREPIT IN WILL, HAS TO BE REBORN

Whenever we strive to do anything, after the first rush of enthusiasm is spent a paralysing helplessness seizes upon us. We often see in the cases of old men full of years and experience that the very excess of knowledge seems to have frozen their powers of action and their powers of will. When a great feeling or a great need overtakes them and it is necessary to carry out its promptings in action, they hesitate, ponder, discuss, make tentative efforts and abandon them or wait for the safest and easiest way to suggest itself, instead of taking the most direct; thus the time when it was possible and necessary to act passes away. Our race has grown just such an old man with stores of knowledge, with ability to feel and desire, but paralysed by senile sluggishness, senile timidity, senile feebleness. If India is to survive, she must be made young again. Rushing and billowing streams of energy must be poured into her; her soul must become, as it was in the old times, like the surges, vast, puissant, calm or turbulent at will, an ocean of action or of force.

INDIA CAN BE REBORN

Many of us, utterly overcome by *tamas* the dark and heavy demon of inertia, are saying now-a-days that it is impossible; that India is decayed, bloodless and lifeless, too weak ever to recover; that our race is doomed to extinction. It is a foolish and idle saying. No man or nation need be weak unless he chooses, no man or nation need perish unless he deliberately chooses extinction.

WHAT IS A NATION? THE SHAKTI OF ITS MILLIONS

For what is a nation? What is our mother-country? It is not a piece of earth, nor a figure of speech, nor a fiction of the mind. It is a mighty Shakti, composed of the Shaktis of all the millions of units that make up the nation, just as Bhawani Mahisha Mardini sprang into being from the Shakti of all the millions of gods assembled in one mass of force and welded into unity. The Shakti we call India, Bhawani Bharati, is the living unity of the Shaktis of three hundred million people; but she is inactive, imprisoned in the magic circle of *tamas*, the self-indulgent inertia and ignorance of her sons. To get rid of *tamas* we have but to wake the Brahma within.

IT IS OUR OWN CHOICE WHETHER WE CREATE A NATION OR PERISH

What is it that so many thousands of holy men, Sadhus and Sannyasis, have preached to us silently by their lives? What was the message that radiated from the personality of Bhagawan Ramkrishna Paramahansa? What was it that formed the kernel of the eloquence with which the lion-like heart of Vivekananda sought [38] to shake the

world? It is this, that in every one of these three hundred millions of men, from the Raja on his throne to the coolie at his labour, from the Brahmin absorbed in his *sandhya* to the Pariah walking shunned of men. GOD LIVETH. We are all gods and creators; because the energy of God is within us and all life is creation; not only the making of new forms is creation, but preservation is creation, destruction itself is creation. It rests with us what we shall create; for we are not, unless we choose, puppets dominated by Fate and Maya; we are facets and manifestations of Almighty Power.

INDIA MUST BE REBORN, BECAUSE HER REBIRTH IS DEMANDED
BY THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD

India cannot perish, our race cannot become extinct, because among all the divisions of mankind it is to India that is reserved the highest and the most splendid destiny, the most essential to the future of the human race. It is she who must send forth from herself the future religion of the entire world, the Eternal religion which is to harmonise all religion, science and philosophies and make mankind one soul. In the sphere of morality, likewise, it is her mission to purge barbarism (mlecchahood) out of humanity and to *Aryanise* the world. In order to do this, she must first re-aryanise herself.

It was to initiate this great work, the greatest and most wonderful work ever given to a race, that Bhagawan Ramakrishna came and Vivekananda preached. If the work does not progress as it once promised to do it is because we have once again allowed the terrible cloud of *Tamas* to settle down on our souls—fear, doubt, hesitation, sluggishness. We have taken, some of us, the Bhakti which poured forth from the one and the Jnana given us by the other, but from lack of Shakti, from the lack of Karma, we have not been able to make our Bhakti a living thing. May we yet remember that it was Kali, who is Bhawani, mother of strength whom Ramakrishna worshipped and with whom he became one.

But the destiny of India will not wait on the falterings and failings of individuals; the mother demands that men shall arise to institute her worship and make it universal.

TO GET STRENGTH WE MUST ADORE THE MOTHER OF STRENGTH

Strength then and again strength and yet more strength is the need of our race. But if it is strength we desire, how shall we gain it if we do not adore the mother of strength? She demands worship not for Her own sake, but in order that She may help us and give Herself to us. This is no fantastic idea, no superstition but the ordinary law of the universe. The gods cannot, if they would, give themselves unasked. Even the Eternal comes not unaware upon men. Every devotee knows by experience that we must turn to Him and desire and adore Him before the Divine [39] Spirit pours in its ineffable beauty and ecstasy upon the soul. What is true of the Eternal, is true also of Her who goes forth from Him.

RELIGION THE TRUE PATH

Those who, possessed with Western ideas, look askance at any return to the old sources of energy may well consider a few fundamental facts.

THE EXAMPLE OF JAPAN

I. There is no instance in history of a more marvellous and sudden up-surgings of strength in a nation than modern Japan. All sorts of theories had been started to account for the uprising, but now intellectual Japanese are telling us what were the fountains of that mighty awakening, the sources of that inexhaustible strength. They were drawn from religion. It was the Vedantic teachings of Oyomei and the recovery of Shintoism with its worship of the national Shakti of Japan in the image and person of the Mikado that enabled the little island empire to wield the stupendous weapons of Western knowledge and science as lightly and invincibly as Arjun wielded the Gandiv.

INDIA'S GREATER NEED OF SPIRITUAL REGENERATION

II. India's need of drawing from the fountains of religion is far greater than was ever Japan's; for the Japanese had only to revitalise and perfect a strength that already existed. We have to create strength where it did not exist before; we have to change our natures, and become new men with new hearts, to be born again. There is no scientific process, no machinery for that. Strength can only be created by drawing it from the internal and inexhaustible reservoirs of the Spirit, from that Adya-Shakti of the Eternal which is the fountain of all new existence. To be born again means nothing but to revive the Brahma within us, and that is a spiritual process—no effort of the body or the intellect can compass it.

RELIGION THE PATH NATURAL TO THE NATIONAL MIND

III. All great awakenings in India, all her periods of mightiest and most varied vigour have drawn their vitality from the fountain-heads of some deep religious awakening. Wherever the religious awakening has been complete and grand, the national energy it has created has been gigantic and puissant; wherever the religious movement has been narrow or incomplete, the national movement has been broken, imperfect or temporary. The persistence of this phenomenon is proof that it is ingrained in the temperament of the race. If you try other and foreign methods we shall either gain our end with tedious slowness, painfully and imperfectly, or we shall not attain it at all. Why abandon the plain way which God [40] and the Mother have marked out for you, to choose faint and devious paths of your own treading?

THE SPIRIT WITHIN IS THE TRUE SOURCE OF STRENGTH

IV. The Brahma within, the one and indivisible ocean of spiritual force is that from which all life, material and mental, is drawn. This is beginning to be as much recognised by leading Western thinkers as it

was from the old days by the East. If it be so, then spiritual energy is the source of all other strength. There are the fathomless fountain-heads, the deep and inexhaustible sources. The shallow surface springs are easier to reach, but they soon run dry. Why not then go deep instead of scratching the surface? The result will repay the labour.

THREE THINGS NEEDFUL

We need three things answering to three fundamental laws.

I. BHAKTI—THE TEMPLE OF THE MOTHER

We cannot get strength unless we adore the Mother of Strength.

We will therefore build a temple to the white Bhawani, the mother of strength, the Mother of India; and we will build it in a place far from the contamination of modern cities and as yet little trodden by man, in a high and pure air steeped in calm and energy. This temple will be the centre from which Her worship is to flow over the whole country; for there, worshipped among the hills, She will pass like fire into the brains and hearts of Her worshippers. This also is what the Mother has commanded.

II. KARMA—A NEW ORDER OF BRAHMACHARINS

Adoration will be dead and ineffective unless it is transmuted into Karma.

We will therefore have a *math* with a new Order of Karma-Yogins attached to the temple, men who have renounced all in order to work for the Mother. Some may, if they choose, be complete Sannyasins, most will be Brahmacharins who will return to the *grihasthasram* when their allotted work is finished, but all must accept renunciation.

WHY? FOR TWO REASONS

(1) Because it is only in proportion as we put from us the pre-occupation of bodily desires and interests, the sensual gratifications, lusts, longings, indolences of the material world, that we can return to the ocean of spiritual force within us. [41]

(2) Because for the development of Shakti, entire concentration is necessary; the mind must be devoted entirely to its aim as a spear is hurled to its mark; if other cares and longings distract the mind, the spear will be carried out from its straight course and miss the target. We need a nucleus of men in whom the Shakti is developed to its uttermost extent, in whom it fills every corner of the personality and overflows to fertilize the earth. These, having the fire of Bhawani in their hearts and brains, will go forth and carry the flame to every nook and cranny of our land.

III. JNAN, THE GREAT MESSAGE

Bhakti and Karma cannot be perfect and enduring unless they are based upon Jnana.

The Brahmacharins of the Order will therefore be taught to fill their souls with knowledge and base their work upon it as upon a rock. What shall be the basis of their knowledge? What but the great *so-aham*, the

mighty formula of the Vedanta, the ancient gospel which has yet to reach the heart of the nation, the knowledge which when vivified by Karma and Bhakti delivers man out of all fear and all weakness.

THE MESSAGE OF THE MOTHER

When, therefore, you ask who is Bhawani the mother, She herself answer you "I am the Infinite Energy which streams forth from the Eternal in the world and Eternal in yourselves. I am the Mother of the Universe, the Mother of the Worlds, and for you who are children of the Sacred Land, Aryabhumi, made of her clay and reared by her sun and winds. I am Bhawani Bharati, Mother of India."

Then if you ask why we should erect a temple to Bhawani, the Mother, hear Her answer, "Because I have commanded it, and because by making a centre for the future religion you will be furthering the immediate will of the Eternal and storing up merit which will make you strong in this life and great in another. You will be helping to create a nation, to consolidate an age, to aryanise a world. And that nation is your own, that age is the age of yourselves and your children, that world is no fragment of land bounded by seas and hills, but the whole earth with her teeming millions."

Come then, hearken to the call of the Mother. She is already in our hearts waiting to manifest Herself, waiting to be worshipped,—inactive because the God in us is concealed by *tamas*, troubled by Her inactivity, sorrowful because Her children will not call on Her to help them. You who feel Her stirring within you, fling off the black veil of self, break down the imprisoning walls of indolence, help Her each as you feel impelled, with your bodies or with your intellect or with your speech or with your wealth or with your prayers and worship, each man according to his capacity. Draw not back, for against those who were called and heard Her not [42] She may well be worth in the day of Her coming; but to those who help Her advent even a little, how radiant with beauty and kindness will be the face of their Mother !

APPENDIX

The work and rules of the new Order of Sannyasis will be somewhat as follows :—

I. GENERAL RULES

1. All who undertake the life of Brahmacharya for the Mother will have to vow themselves to Her service for four years, after which they will be free to continue the work or return to family life.
2. All money received by them in the Mother's name will go to the Mother's Service. For themselves they will be allowed to receive shelter and their meals, when necessary, and nothing more.
3. Whatever they may earn for themselves, e.g., by the publication of books, etc., they must give at least half of it to the service of the Mother.
4. They will observe entire obedience to the Head of the Order and

his one or two assistants in all things connected with the work or with their religious life.

5. They will observe strictly the discipline and rules of *achar* and purity, bodily and mental, prescribed by the Heads of the Order.

6. They will be given periods for rest or for religious improvement during which they will stop at the *math*, but the greater part of the year they will spend in work outside. This rule will apply to all except the few necessary for the service of the Temple and those required for the central direction of the work.

7. There will be no gradations of rank among the workers, and none must seek for distinction or mere personal fame but practise strength and self-effacement.

II. WORK FOR THE PEOPLE

8. Their chief work will be that of mass instruction and help to the poor and ignorant.

9. This they will strive to effect in various ways :—

1. Lectures and demonstrations suited to an uneducated intelligence.
2. Class and nightly schools.
3. Religious teachings.
4. Nursing the sick. [43]
5. Conducting works of charity.
6. Whatever other good work their hands may find to do and the Order approves.

III. WORKS FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS

10. They will undertake, according as they may be directed, various works of public utility in the big towns and elsewhere, connected especially with the education and religious life and instruction of the middle classes, as well as with other public needs.

IV. WORK WITH THE WEALTHY CLASSES

11. They will approach the zamindars, landholders and rich men generally, and endeavour—

(1) To promote sympathy between the zamindars and the peasants and heal all discords.

(2) To create the link of a single and living religious spirit and a common passion for one great ideal between all classes.

(3) To turn the minds of rich men to works of public beneficence and charity to those in their neighbourhood independent of the hope of reward and official distinction.

V. GENERAL WORK FOR THE COUNTRY

12. As soon as funds permit, some will be sent to foreign countries to study lucrative arts and manufactures

13. They will be as Sannyasis during their period of study, never losing hold of their habits of purity and self-abnegation.

14. On their return they will establish with the aid of the Order,

factories and workshops, still living the life of Sannyasis and devoting all their profits to the sending of more and more such students to foreign countries.

15. Others will be sent to travel through various countries on foot, inspiring by their lives, behaviour and conversation, sympathy and love for the Indian people in the European nations and preparing the way for their acceptance of Aryan ideals.

After the erection and consecration of the Temple, the development of the work of the Order will be pushed on as rapidly as possible or as the support and sympathy of the public allows. With the blessing of the Mother this will not fail us.

SAKTI PUJA OR THE WORSHIP OF POWER

The practical application of this worship of power was explained in a speech delivered on the evening of Saturday, May 25th, 1907, at a *Sakti* celebration held at the house of Raja Prasanna Narain Deb in Sobha Bazar, [44] Calcutta ; *Sakti* literally means power, and here means Power personified. There was some controversy about the actual words used by the lecturer, Bepin Chandra Pal. On the following Monday the *Bande Mataram* paper, with which B. C. Pal had severed his connection in the previous November owing to a quarrel with Arabindo Ghose, came out with a summary in which the lecturer was represented as saying, "The *Sakti* in the Bengalee and Indian nation generally is now in a sleeping state, and as soon as the Indians will know the power of their will, the handful to foreigners who dominate over them will no longer have the power of oppressing them any more." * * * "He advocated the formation in every quarter and village of the performance of the *Raksha Kali Puja* every *Amavasya* night, where in the midst of dark nights, with drums, torches, music and fireworks, vast congregations are to assemble and sacrifice 108 white living goats (not having the least black spot in its body). The *Kali Puja* will not be prohibited by Government ; and the holding of such midnight ceremonials at regular intervals will have a grand meaning and will do wonders, as you all know one time *chapatris* had done wonders."

According to the same account he was followed by a "Mad-rassi gentleman" who declared that the only act of *Kali Puja* that ought to be acceptable to Hindus was the slaughter of their enemies (the *ripoos* or passions). "We ought to go abroad and learn the manufacturing of bombs and other destructive weapons and how to wield them (even the Czar of all Russias trembled at bombs), and return to our country to sacrifice every *Amavasya*

night 108 whites (not white lambs, but those who are our enemies), and there the bright prospect of the whole nation lies for the future”.

Bepin Chandra Pal repudiated the rather strong statements attributed to him, and two days later the *Bande Mataram* published an explanation which included the following :—

“We expressed yesterday our doubt whether the report of Bepin Babu’s speech, as sent in to us by a casual reporter and incautiously admitted into our columns, could possibly be correct. We are now in a position to [45] state that Bepin Babu’s remarks have been distorted in the process of summarising. We shall shortly be able to publish an authorised summary of the speech”.

On the 6th June, 1907, an article appeared in B. C. Pal’s own paper *New India* professing to give in English the substance of the speech which was delivered originally in Bengali. It may be fairly assumed that this version was carefully edited as it took so long to prepare ; a few passages have been omitted where indicated below, but otherwise the article is quoted *verbatim*. According to this account B. C. Pal, after a few introductory remarks said :—

“The occasion that brings us together here is not political. We are met here to celebrate a festival in honour of *Sakti*. *Sakti* worship is a familiar thing among us. It has been a part of our religion from time immemorial. It has indeed been an essential element in every religion. Man approached his God in the earliest stages of religious evolution as *Sakti*, or power everywhere. Primitive man had no conception of the God-head, except as “a Power not himself”. He came face to face with this power in the life of Nature on the side, and in the organisation of the Society on the other. In his Nature’s surroundings, in the play of physical forces about him, man came in contact with a Power not himself ; that curbed and controlled his physical life. In his social surroundings, in the laws, the customs and the regulations of his tribe, in the disciplines of his religion, he stood face to face with another Power not himself that curbed and controlled his instincts, his desires and his social life and activities ; and through these dual manifestations of force were first quickened man’s intuitions about God. This has been the origin of religion everywhere.

“Indeed there can be no religion without a consciousness of Divine Omnipotence. Whether that Omnipotence be conceived as Love or relentless fate, it is there at the root of man’s religious intuitions, and in the aspirations of his religious life.

[46] “But though the real and the highest worship of *Sakti* must be through the cosmic and social revelations of it, this highest form of *Sakti* worship is possible to the highly educated and cultured alone. The masses can hardly be expected to approach this high standard; and yet they too must be initiated in the mysteries of *Sakti* worship; and for them adequate symbols and rituals must be provided. And I feel no hesitation to say, that I cannot conceive of a better symbol of *Sakti* in our present condition than the symbol of *Kali*, not conceived as a supernatural deity, but simply as the symbol of cosmic evolution on the one side, and of race-consciousness on the other. Indeed, the whole range of legends concerning *Sakti* worship in India clearly indicates this symbolic character. Cosmic force was symbolised in the Vedic *Indra* and *Rudra*; while *Durga*, *Kali*, *Bhawani*, *Bhagavati*, all these represent more or less the symbol of the race spirit. These are all war-deities, and the wars with which they are associated in our *Pauranic* legends are clearly tribal wars. The credit of victory in these tribal wars could only be given to the tribal deity, which could be nothing else than the representation of the spirit of the tribe or race. And as such these symbols may well be utilised, if properly interpreted, for the organisation of our new civic religion and sacraments. In this view and in this form I do not feel any hesitaiton to recommend the *Kali* symbol to those of my countrymen to whom it may really appeal as an inspiration for the cultivation of *Sakti*.

“Indeed Bankim Chandra Chatterji had already set up *Kali* as a symbol of “Mother as She is.” *Kali* is thus an excellent symbol of *Sakti* both in its natural and national aspects. In nature, as in social life, the power or authority that rules is essentially benevolent. Cosmic evolution is the evolution of an idea, and so also is social evolution; and goodness is the soul of this idea in both its aspects. The ultimate fact in nature is not decay and death but progress and life. The ultimate fact in social authority is also not bondage but freedom. And *Sakti* thus stands rooted universally in goodness; *Kali* sprung from

and rooted in the heart of *Siva*. Even in [47] carnage and destruction *Sakti* is never divorced from *Siva*. It wages war standing upon goodness. Goodness is what it springs from. Goodness is also what it seeks perpetually to realise and attain. *Kali* is naked, because possessed by the spirit of goodness it has lost consciousness of itself. Nakedness implies passion. Nakedness symbolises disattachment. It is the sign not of savagery, but of selflessness. *Sakti* destroys and kills, but not from self-regarding motives, but moved by its passion for the good. Carnage is a part of the divine ordering of the universe. Nature's teeth and claws are bloody. *Sakti* as symbolic of cosmic force naturally bears the emblem of carnage and destruction—the garland of human heads dripping blood on its bosom. As symbolic of race consciousness also *Sakti* works out its divine ends sometimes through war and carnage. Indeed *Sakti* is never manifested except in and through conflict. The conflicts of forces in nature reveal the infinite energy that stands behind it. In society also it is in the conflict of interests and ideals that social authority reveals and develops itself. So in both its aspects, cosmic and social, the right symbol of *Sakti* can only be that of a war goddess. In view of it all it is difficult to conceive a better symbol of *Sakti* than that in and through which it is worshipped by popular Hinduism.

“And we need this worship to-day more than we did in the past. All strength seems to have gone out of the Nation. Inertia has been elevated almost to the ideal of religion among the people. Selfish dread of struggle has been apotheosised as the very perfection of faith and love. Laziness has been ennobled to the position of divine peace; and all this has contributed to the decay of the national life. From inertia to the highest faith the course of evolution lies through self-assertion and self-exertion that imply severe and relentless struggle. Our people must realise the sanctity now of conflicts. They must realise that the highest good can only reach itself out in this world through bitter struggles; and the symbol of *Kali* may well be utilised now to arouse the dormant energies of the nation and to lead it on to realise its [48] highest destiny through conflicts and struggles that are necessary processes of all evolution.

“I would therefore recommend the organisation of *Kali Puja* in every important village, every new-moon-day. It cannot be the ordinary *Kali Puja*. For these *pujas* have no sanction except

on special ceremonial days or for specific purposes. But we have the tradition of *Kali* worship whenever there are epidemics and troubles in the country. When there is the fear of pestilence or fear of kings—in times of *Maribhaya* and *Rajabhaya*—*Kali* is usually worshipped. But then it is not the ordinary *Kali*, but what is called *Rakshakali* that is worshipped in these times of trouble. *Rakshakali* is the *Kali* which protects from evil. *Rakshakali* is not black but white—the symbol not of darkness but of light. And the sacrifices acceptable to *Rakshakali* are white goats and not black ones. It would not be a bad thing if we could organise public *Rakshakali pujas* at the present juncture where large crowds could be collected and 108 goats sacrificed. It would put courage into drooping hearts. It would impart a religious meaning and significance to our national movements. It would help to revive faith in the supernatural, and thus remove any demoralisation that may have set in among the people. Will the bureaucracy demoralise us, or shall we demoralise them; that is the question now. They are trying to demoralise us. We too may perplex and demoralise them by the organisation of these *pujas*. They have already become nervous, and are conjuring up visions of all kinds of troubles. They are still thinking of the mysterious *chapatris*. It is not difficult to demoralise such people. These *Rakshakali pujas* will have a healthy effect on them. The very mystery of it will demoralise them. And thus these ceremonials would strengthen the determination of our people on the one hand, and simultaneously demoralise those that are trying to repress them on the other.”

THE BHAGWAT GITA AND CHANDI

Two religious books that found a prominent place in the literature of the revolution were the *Bhagwat Gita* [49] and *Chandi*. 17 copies of the *Gita* were found in the Dacca *Anusilan Samiti*, with four copies of *Chandi*, and three copies of the *Gita* were found in the Maniktolla garden. The importance of the former is very plainly expressed in the following extract from a speech by B. G. Tilak of Poona, quoted in a Bengali magazine article discovered in the *Anusilan Samiti* at Dacca. “The most practical teaching of the *Gita*, and one for which it is of abiding interest and value to men of the world, with whom life is a series of struggles, is not to give way to any morbid sentimentality when duty demands sternness and boldness to face terrible things.”

The passage in the *Gita* which appealed most to the revolutionaries is that which relates how the family of Pandavas, with Arjuna at their head, is drawn up in battle against their cousins the Kauravas. Arjuna, seeing his relatives arrayed against him, declares to the god Sri Krishna, who acts as his charioteer, that for nothing in the world will he slay his kinsmen even though they are prepared to kill him. Then follows the great exhortation of Sri Krishna, from which the following is taken "These bodies appertaining to the embodied self which is eternal, indestructible, and undefinable, are said to be perishable; therefore engage in battle, O descendant of Bharata! He who thinks the self to be the killer and he who thinks it to be killed, both know nothing. It kills not, is not killed. It is not born, nor does it ever die, nor, having existed, does it cease to exist. Unborn, everlasting, unchangeable, and primeval, it is not killed when the body is killed. O son of Pritha! How can that man who knows it thus to be indestructible, everlasting, unborn, and inexhaustible, how and whom can he kill, whom can he cause to be killed? As a man, casting off old clothes puts on new ones, so the self casting off old bodies, goes to new ones. Weapons do not divide it into pieces; fire does not burn it; waters do not moisten it; the wind does not dry it up. It is not divisible; it is not combustible; it is not to be moistened; it is not to be dried up. It is everlasting, all-pervading, stable, firm, and eternal. It is said to be unperceived, to be unthinkable, to be unchangeable. Therefore, knowing it to be so, you ought not to [50] grieve. But even if you think that it is constantly born, and constantly dies, still, O you of mighty arms! you ought not to grieve thus. For to one that is born, death is certain; and to one that dies, birth is certain. Therefore about this unavoidable thing you ought not to grieve. . . . Happy those Kshatriyas, O son of Pritha! to whom such a battle as this comes of itself—an open door to heaven!" "If slain you will attain heaven; victorious you will possess the earth".

Another passage which had great influence is the following:—"He whose heart is not agitated in the midst of calamities, he who has no longing for pleasures, and from whom affection, fear and wrath have departed, is called a sage of steady mind. His mind is steady, who being without attachments anywhere, feels no exultation and no aversion on encountering agreeable and disagreeable things".

Sri Krishna's advice to Arjuna is constantly quoted in the revolutionary books and newspapers, and a picture of the scene before the battle, with Arjuna in his chariot and the god holding the reins beside him, adorned the front page of Arabindo Ghose's paper the *Karmayogin*. The motto printed on the front page of the *Yugantar* was also taken from the *Gita* and reads as follows :

"When righteousness decays, Oh son of Bharat, and unrighteousness flourishes, then I manifest myself. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the establishment of righteousness I am reborn from age to age".

The book called *Chandi* is named after one of the epithets of the goddess Durga regarded as the destroyer of the demon Chanda. It relates how the gods, driven from their kingdom by the demons, created the goddess Kali, or Adya Sakti (which means primordial energy), a manifestation of the goddess Durga, to destroy the demons. In other words Durga has many aspects. As the destroyer of demons she takes the form of Kali, and in this form she is sometimes called *Chandi*, the destroyer of the particular demon Chanda. The destruction of the demons is a regular metaphor in Indian revolutionary [51] literature, the gods being the people of India and the demons the English, and this accounts for the great popularity of the book in these circles. One of the members of the Anusilan Samiti was something of a poet, and the following quotations from two of his song books illustrate the use to which *Chandi* was put. It should be explained that Kali is usually represented wearing a garland of human skulls and specially affects the Hindu burning ground.

"Come, Oh Mother Bhairabi ! Come, Oh Mother adorned with skulls, to this earth, making the earth tremble with dreadful sound to kill the hosts of wicked demons."

* * * * *

"Here a cremation ground extends far and wide ;
Come, Oh Mother, to the cremation ground of India.
Where will you find a better place ?
The demons have reduced India to ashes,
Committing terrible oppression upon her".

* * * * *

"Come, Oh Chandi, to punish, in a different age,
Chanda and Munda. Scoundrels are mangling the

body to pieces with violent fury. * * * *
 The earth is dumfounded, and tears flow from the
 eyes of all at the insolence of Shambhu and
 Nishambu.”

The personages mentioned are some of the demons destroyed by Kali in a former age, and the “different age” to which the poet refers is obviously the present one.

BARTAMAN RANANITI

If the real meaning of this worship of the goddess of power, by whatever name—Kali, Sakti, Chandi or Bhawani—she may be known, were in any doubt, the doubt is entirely removed by the book which falls to be considered next. It was published in October, 1907, by Abinash Chandra Bhattacharji, the friend, or as they preferred to call it for the purposes of the Maniktolla Conspiracy trial, the servant of Arabindo Ghose. This book was the principal revolutionary text-book; 394 [52] copies were found in the Maniktolla Garden, and it was, as the issue register showed, one of the most popular books in the Dacca Anusilan Samiti Library.

The title *Bartaman Rananiti* means “The Modern Art of War,” but before going on to deal with military subjects the author reprints, as Chapter I of his book, an article which appeared in the *Yugantar* newspaper in October, 1906, entitled “War is the order of creation”. After explaining that destruction is but creation in another form, the writer proceeds, “Destruction is natural and war is, therefore, also natural. When any part of the body is rotten it should be cut off with the help of surgical instruments, otherwise, the gangrenous wound would expand and cause destruction to the body. Vice, persecution, dependence are but gangrenous sores in the body of the nation. War is inevitable when oppression cannot be stopped by any other means whatsoever, when the leprosy of slavery corrupts the blood of the body of the nation and robs it of its vitality. It is for this reason that Sri Krishna, god himself, acted as charioteer, holding the reins in his hands at the battle of Kurukshetra. It is for this reason that the god Ram Chandra planned the destruction of Ravan. It is for this that Chandi, inspired with the prowess of 33 crores of gods, appeared to kill the Daityas, and for this reason that the incarnation of Kali in this Kali age, “Kali hold-

ing two swords to destroy the Mlechhas," has passed into a saying of the Shastras.

The writer then discusses the rapid rise of Japan, and says "This remarkable development is but the result of unflagging, and disinterested work. Hence Okakura has said: "Until the moment we shook it off, the same lethargy lay upon us which now lies upon China and India Religion could but soothe, not cure, the suffering of the wounded soul." But to-day Japan has been cured of her disease. Japan is now, therefore, not only the land of beautiful flowers and pictures of fair women, but also the Pithabhumi (place of pilgrimage) of the goddess of war."

Karma (or action) is the way to salvation and wealth, and it is to establish this Karma that the Hindus have [53] set up the worship of Sakti. The new India, the worshipper of Sakti, must not forget this principle of Karma. Action is wanted; fame is the reward of action, but the price of fame is very high. The sage Kamalakanta, wandering about in the market of the world, came to the Shop of Fame. "I saw" he says, "darkness in the shop". I called the shopkeeper but no answer came. I heard only great cries striking terror into the hearts of all. In a faint light I read on the signboard at the door:—

Shop of Fame

Things sold—eternal fame.

Price—Life.

To attain to national fame five things are needful, religious faith, food, wealth, men and a warlike spirit. There is no want of faith or food or men in India; the remaining two things must be acquired. Swadeshi and boycott will bring wealth, while time, pointing to the English rifle, says, "See, the warlike spirit is the artificer of the European palace; acquire the warlike spirit." The warrior's weapons are intelligence and physical strength, and strength of fame is necessary to demolish the rule of evil and to establish a kingdom of righteousness.

"We Indians are disarmed under the orders of the King. The foreign King being in fear of his life lest his subjects, driven mad with oppression, should strike him on the head, has disarmed all the subjects of this country. The English employ the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Rajputs as soldiers, and teach them a little of the military art, but the intelligent Bengalis and the Brahmins

of Poona are not even allowed to use a long stick. For who can say that the all-destroying arm will not in the twinkling of an eye demolish the British Kingdom? Because the King, in fear of his life, has passed laws contrary to religion, will therefore eight crores of Bengalis, more than twenty crores of Marathas and count-[54] less other warlike nations remain like beasts? True, we may not have opportunities of learning military manoeuvres and drill openly and in a lawful way. If, however, the Bengalis take this system of instruction into their own hands, they can, through self-exertion, become experts in horsemanship, and acquire courage, strength of arm, power of endurance and other heroic qualities, and they can master all the underlying principles of the science of war in the country by study and by preaching. If the Bengalis can do so much through diligence, they will never feel the want merely of arms. This book is published to lay the foundation of this new system of instruction. If, as a result of it, even one of the fetters drops off from the red lotus foot of the captive mother, her wretched son will consider himself fortunate."

The remainder of the book deals with the weapons of war, the organisation of armies, and tactics, particularly the tactics of guerilla warfare which is described as "the mode of fighting adopted by a nation which is weak, disarmed and oppressed by conquerors, but resolved to break the bondage of slavery." Great stress is laid on the importance of the intellect in war. "Hence it was that the Japanese, though weaker and smaller in stature than the Russians, were more expert in war. Hence it was that 60,000 Boer peasants kept lakhs of British soldiers under their feet for three years. Hence it is that the British do not enlist the Bengalis or the Brahmins of Poona as soldiers."

In the last chapter the writer asks "How can a weak and disarmed nation fight against armed and trained soldiers?", and replies, "The answer is very simple. There are many instances in the world's history which show that it is not impossible for a conquered people to gain victory. A nation may be disarmed and in the power of others. But if the people are firmly determined to drink the nectar of liberty, and if they accept death as desirable, then God will make them heroes. Regular fighting is then possible for them, because :—

- (1) Being inspired with patriotism, the native troops desert the side of the foreign king and join the heroes. [55].

- (2) The mountain tribes become excited by the greedy and fiery tongue of revolution and rush to the battle-field.
- (3) The strength of the youths of a country being applied to irregular warfare, they gradually become fearless and expert in sword-play. Irregular fighting is therefore a test for them. Facing dangers constantly for the good of the country, they attain heroic qualities, such as courage, strength, presence of mind, etc.
- (4) During the long period of anarchy and collision, people increase in number and they venture to accumulate wealth and arms.
- (5) In a long protracted war even the enemy suffer. Many soldiers are destroyed, and commerce, taxes and other means of obtaining money being stopped, famine appears in their own country, and other ruling powers take advantage of the occasion to harass them. In these circumstances who will not venture to defeat such worn-out foes? People perceive that two or more defeats will completely crush the oppressor, and they come in bands under the flag of the revolutionists, and the door of the treasury is flung open for the country's sake. Then with a swadeshi government in power, agriculture and commerce will flourish again."

In October, 1907, Arabindo Ghosh's paper, the *Bande Mataram* published an appreciative notice of this book, remarking that it showed the new trend of the National mind, and that no doubt it would be eagerly sought after. "It is perfectly true", says the writer, "that no practical use can be made of its contents at the present moment; but the will and desire of thousands create its own field, and when the spirit of a nation demands any sphere of activity material events are shaped by that demand in ways that at the time seem to be the wild dreams of an unbridled imagination."

[56] MUKTI KON PATHE ?

This book, the title of which means "Which Way lies Salvation?" is in four parts, and is simply a reprint of articles from the *Yugantar* newspaper (see page 69). It also was a text-book both for the Maniktolla Garden gang and for the Anusilan Samiti, and it is of importance as indicating the objects of the training that went on in both institutions, and the programme

which the leaders adopted for the collection of men, money and arms.

For example in Part II it is stated that the Bengalis are at a disadvantage in the way of muscular development. That is to be made good by training, so far as training can do so. There must be greater muscular development, but if the time at their disposal is not sufficient to secure such development, there is consolation in the thought that not much muscle is required to kill a European with a revolver or a rifle, or to kill many Europeans with a Maxim gun. It does not take much strength to pull a trigger; even a Bengali can do that.

In another article, under the heading "Revolution" and the sub-heading "Building up public opinion," the means are stated as follows :—

- (1) Newspapers.
- (2) Music (*i.e.*, Songs, etc.).
- (3) Literature.
- (4) Secret meetings and associations.

Regarding No. (4) the writer says :—

"Secret societies are necessary since it is impossible to talk of freedom openly because of bayonets and guns. If one wants to talk of freedom publicly he must necessarily do so in a round-about way. It is precisely for this reason that a secret place is necessary where people may discuss. 'What is truth'? without having recourse to hypocrisy. But it must be a place which the tyrant cannot see. The Russian revolutionists used to meet at dead of night in secret places to discuss what they ought to do, and they still do so. It is precisely this state of things which has been described by Bankim Babu in his Ananda [57] Math. In the dead of night the sanyasis used to collect weapons for freedom in the dense forest." "When revolution is absolutely necessary for the sake of freedom it must be preached by all possible means. All means, great or small, important or unimportant, should be adopted."

In an article in Part IV the collection of arms is discussed, and the writer says that if firm determination be there arms come of themselves. "A nation yearning for freedom does not shrink even, if it be necessary, from collecting money by theft and dacoity. So, in the matter of collecting arms, the power of discriminating between right and wrong is gone. Everything is

sacrificed at the feet of the goddess of liberty." There are three ways of obtaining arms :—

(i) By preparing weapons silently in some secret place. In this way bombs are prepared by the Russian nihilists. Indians will be sent to foreign countries to learn the art of making weapons. On their return to India they will manufacture cannon, guns, etc., with the help of enthusiastic youths.

(ii) By importing weapons of all kinds from foreign countries.

(iii) Through the assistance of Native Soldiers. The native Army serves under the tyrannical King only to earn a livelihood. But they are human beings, and "when the revolutionists explain to them the misery and wretchedness of the country, they swell the bands of revolutionists at the proper time, taking with them the arms given to them by the King". . . . "It is because soldiers may thus be made to understand the situation that the present English King of India does not allow the clever Bengali to enter the army."

The reference made above to the collection of money by so-called political dacoities is elaborated in another article, in which it is explained that at first the work of preaching should be managed with the money obtained by begging or as a free gift. Secret preachers begin secretly to form bands in all directions at home and abroad. Much money is not needed for this purpose. If [58] the work has not passed its infancy, the expenses can be met by subscriptions, etc. But if the work advances so far that we are compelled to collect much money it becomes impossible to depend on the money that is given willingly; money should then be exacted from society by the application of force If the revolution is being brought about for the welfare of society, then it is perfectly just to collect money from society for the purpose. It is admitted that theft and dacoity are crimes because they violate the principle of the good of society. But the "political dacoit" is aiming at the good of society; "so no sin but rather virtue attaches to the destruction of this small good for the sake of some higher good. Therefore if revolutionists extort money from the miserly or luxurious wealthy members of society by the application of force, their conduct is perfectly just".

The last stage is the robbery of Government treasuries. This also is justified because, from the moment the kingly power tramples upon the welfare of the subjects, the king may be regarded

as a robber from whom it is perfectly right to snatch away his stolen money, in order, "to defray the expenses of establishing the future kingly power."

SIKHER BALIDAN

This is a small book in Bengali by Miss Kumudini Mitter, afterwards editress of the *Suprabhat* magazine (see page 87), the daughter of Krishna Kumar Mitter, editor of the *Sanjibani*, and cousin of Arabindo Ghosh. K. K. Mitter was one of the nine leading agitators deported from Bengal in December, 1908. The book was first published in 1905, and the third edition appeared in 1908. The title means "The Sikh's Self-Sacrifice;" it gives an account of some incidents in the conflict between the Sikhs and their Mahomedan oppressors, and the moral of it all is contained in the following short dedication by the authoress to her brother Sukumar. "The Sikhs gave up their lives, but still they did not forsake God. May your tender heart love God as they did". It is related, for example, in the account of Guru Tegh Bahadur, that on one occasion his disciples came to him [59] with tales of their sufferings under the Mahomedans. "Guru Tegh Bahadur meditated for a little and concluded that the time for self-sacrifice had come, and that without it oppression could not be stopped." Accordingly he instructed his disciples that when evil and oppression were increasing in any country an attempt should be made to sacrifice something dear to them for its removal, and asked what was the dearest thing they could sacrifice at that time. "His son Gobind Singh, aged 15 years, was listening attentively to his father's words. His faith had become strong in his tender youth and the seed of self-sacrifice was germinating in his heart. As soon as Tegh Bahadur had ceased speaking he stood up and said 'Father, the Sikhs consider you to be the dearest thing'. Tegh Bahadur and his disciples remained silent, and the Guru on reflection found that his son's reply was exactly what he had himself resolved". The account goes on to describe Tegh Bahadur's firmness in the presence of the Emperor Aurangzebe, and his consequent imprisonment and execution.

The following note, printed at the end of the third edition, leaves no doubt as to the lessons intended to be learned from the book by young Bengal.

"Babu Surendra Nath Bannerji, the great orator and political leader in Bengal, writes in the *Bengalee* of the 2nd August, 1906:—

For sometime two little books in Bengali "*Sikher Balidan*" and a life of Miss Mary Carpenter by Kumari Kumudini Mitter, B.A., have been lying on our table. The authoress is the daughter of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter, the well known Editor of the *Sanjibini* newspaper. We have read the books with pleasure and profit. The style is simple and vigorous and there is a fascinating air of sincerity which has a charm all its own.

"*Sikher Balidan*" is a book which ought to be in the hands of every schoolboy. It is a thrilling record of Sikh martyrdom. It tells us in a few well written biographical sketches the story of the up-building of the Sikh character which made the Sikhs what they were and what we hope they will yet be. In all great movements boys [60] and young men play a prominent part, the divine message first comes to them, and they are persecuted and they suffer for their faith. "Suffer the little children to come unto me" are the words of the divinely inspired founder of the Christian religion; and the faith that is inseparable from childhood and youth is the faith which has built up great creeds and has diffused them through the world. Our boys and young men have been persecuted for their Swadeshism; and their sufferings have made Swadeshism strong and vigorous. The blood of the martyrs is the cement of the church; and the sturdy faith of the Sikh which braved death and disaster with unflinching courage was reflected in the heroic suffering of its youthful martyrs. Our authoress tells us the story of the martyrdom of Fateh Singh and Jarwar Singh the youthful sons of Guru Govind. The two boys, confronted with their persecutor, never flinched from the faith of their fathers. They were entreated to save themselves by abjuring their religion. They firmly refused. They rose above all temptation even the terrors of death. Mark the heroic words of these boy-martyrs;—"He who has foresaken his God fears death. To the devoted, death is real birth. We rejoice in the presence of death. In death shall we find our overlasting joy." Thus exclaimed the sons of Guru Govind, and torture followed by execution terminated their young lives. The little book reveals the process of nation building through the ordeal of fire and persecution. It should be in the hands of everybody who has his eyes open to the significance of the events that are passing around us."

DESHER KATHA AND SHIVAJI

In the accounts of the Maniktolla Conspiracy and of the Anusilan Samiti attention is drawn to the Maratha influence, and this is reflected also in the literature of both bodies. A book in Bengali entitled *Deshar Katha* (Tales of the Country) by Sakharan Ganesh Deuskar, a Maratha Brahmin resident in Calcutta, was in great request; it was published in three editions, and was described in an advertisement as "the only resort for worshippers of the Motherland". The Life of Shivaji was [61] also carefully studied and the war-cry of the Marathas, "Har, Har, Mahadeva!" was practised in the Anusilan Samiti, and used at the mock fights in which the members engaged. The following passages are taken from a book on Shivaji found in the possession of one of them :—

"There is absolutely no sin in killing with great cruelty that base-born man, who, being a native of the soil, throws obstacles in the way of the establishment of the freedom of his native land." "To expect one's country to prosper without an uprising is as unreal as the flowers of the sky. It is for this reason that prominent politicians say that there is nothing so sacred as a revolution." "Shivaji is firmly convinced that it is the primary duty of every man to protect his faith and his country from the oppression of foreigners. He who fails to perform this duty goes to hell and becomes infamous."

MANUAL OF EXPLOSIVES

The society whose headquarters were in the Maniktolla Garden had begun to collect a library on military subjects and explosives. The books in their possession included several drill books, "Battalion Drill made easy", and "Field Exercises," besides a few standard works on explosives by European authors. The most remarkable, however was a single cyclostyled copy of a manual of explosives, the general purpose of which is well described in its opening sentence, "The aim of the present work is to place in the hands of a revolutionary people such a powerful weapon as explosive matter is." The book is divided into three chapters on the following subjects :—

Chapter I.—Preparation of explosive substances.

„ II.—Fabrication of shells.

„ III.—Use of explosives.

The subject is exhaustively and scientifically treated; the amount of attention given to detail may be gathered from the fact that the composition and manufacture of 30 different explosives of one class only, namely those [62] containing salts of chloric and chlorous acids, are described. The reason why it is necessary to be able to make explosives of various substances is given as follows :— “In revolutionary practice we have often to use not the explosives we should like to use, but those which we can prepare with the materials at hand . . . Again in the time of armed conflict the expenditure of explosives is considerable, and it is necessary to expropriate pharmaceutical shops (just as armouries are expropriated) and out of useful substances to prepare what is needed.”

In the second chapter the making of percussion bombs and fuse bombs is described, as well as the proper way to make an ‘instantaneous fuse,’ ‘15-seconds fuse,’ ‘3 minutes fuse,’ etc. up to an ‘8 or 9 hours fuse’ and the third chapter explains how bombs should be used for assassination, street fighting and the destruction of buildings and bridges, etc.

Copies of this book have come to light in several important cases. The first specimen brought to India was the one found in the Maniktolla Garden (see page 140), and it was in process of being copied by hand into several note-books which were discovered at the same time; it was evidently a recent introduction as little progress had been made. A second copy was found in the house of Ganesh Damodar Savarkar when it was searched at Nasik (see page 182) and a third in a box belonging to Bhai Parmanand of Lahore (see page 352). In the course of enquiries into the bomb conspiracy at Victoria, British Columbia, it was found that a copy of this book had been sent from Paris in January, 1914, to Harnam Singh of Sahri (see page 250).

THE PRESS

In the last Chapter an account is given of the literature of a more permanent character which was most popular with the members of the revolutionary societies in India. Here it is proposed to deal with the more ephemeral publications such as magazines, newspapers and leaflets. The subject is a very wide one, but it is hoped by selection to give some idea of the frankly revolutionary press. It will be understood that these selections are in no sense representative of the Indian press as a whole, which, all things considered, may be described as moderate and loyal. On the other hand it does not follow that all the papers which are not quoted here are free from objection. Between the openly revolutionary and the reasonably moderate press there is a set of newspapers whose criticism of Government is always carping and frequently dishonest, but which draw the line at expressing the logical conclusion of their examination of the policy and performance of Government. Prominent and old-established examples of this class are the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, especially the latter; they are both published daily in English, and are therefore available at any time to those who may desire to pursue the matter further. During the last year or two both have been surpassed in virulence by Mrs. Annie Besant's paper, the *New India* of Madras, especially since this headstrong enthusiast took up the Indian Home Rule movement. One of the theories developed in her paper, in the course of that agitation, was that any attack on what was called the bureaucracy was permissible so long as it was accompanied by a perfunctory expression of loyalty to the Crown and the British connection, a theory which naturally laid to a conflict with the existing form of Government in India and resulted in orders restricting Mrs. Besant's choice of residence and severing her connection with the press. Other examples of a similar class are the *Mahratta* of Poona (see page 91) and the *Bombay Chronicle* which is not so consistently objectionable. While these papers usually remain within the border-line drawn by the Press Act and the sedition sections [64] of the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes, they supply to the revolutionary press arguments and illustrations

which only have to be plainly stated and suitably embellished to become openly seditious.

The subject dealt with here is naturally divided into two parts, sedition printed and published in India and sedition imported from abroad. In India there have been, so far, two main centres of revolutionary writing, Calcutta and Poona, the Bengali press and the Marathi press. Other provinces have suffered from occasional attacks, but the output in these two places has been practically continuous and the seditious productions of other parts of India have been little more than imitations of the Bengal or the Maratha style. Imported sedition came first from England and America in the shape of the *Indian Sociologist* of London and occasional articles in the *Gaelic American* of New York; to these Paris was very soon added with the appearance of the *Bande Mataram* and many seditious leaflets, and later on San Francisco, the refuge of the *Ghadr* party, became the most important centre for the preparation and distribution of revolutionary print.

Before going on to give examples of indigenous and imported sedition it will be convenient here to summarise very briefly the history of press legislation in India and the effect of the Press Act of 1910. The latter subject was discussed in detail in His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Press Deputation of March, 1917, from which a few passages are quoted below. Imported sedition has of course to be treated in a different way, the usual practice being to prohibit the importation of the condemned document into India under the Sea Customs Act. The censorship imposed on mails from neutral countries during the war has greatly facilitated the operation of these orders; it has also indicated the magnitude of the evil, and the extent to which the measures adopted in time of peace were defective.

In India the liberty of unlicensed printing was established by Act XI of 1835 which removed previous restrictions and required printers and publishers merely [65] to register themselves and to put their names to their publications. It was practically re-enacted as The Press and Registration of Books Act (XXV of 1867) in which form it remains in force to the present day. The system of license was only once renewed, and then for a year only, by Act XV of 1857, a piece of emergency legislation arising out of the Mutiny. In 1870 sedition in general, including of course sedition in the Press, was penalised by the insertion of section

124-A in the Indian Penal Code. This section was amended by Act IV of 1898, which also added section 153-A to the penal Code and amended section 505, thus defining the general law of sedition as it stands at present.

From the year of the Mutiny the Press, as such, was not touched till 1878 when the Vernacular Press Act was passed; it was strongly attacked in Parliament by the Liberal Party, then in opposition, and repealed by Lord Ripon's Government in 1882. In 1906 certain sections of the Press, especially in Bengal, began to publish, as the following examples will show, open incitements to murder and revolution. The ordinary law of sedition contained in the Penal Code was put into operation, but it had very little effect, and when the Muzuffarpore murders and other events had shown that the Press campaign was not all empty talk, an Act was passed in June, 1908, for the prevention of incitements to murder and other offences in newspapers. It provided for the forfeiture of presses in which newspapers were printed containing any incitement to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act or to any act of violence.

While the Act of 1908 put a stop to this sort of writing in the Press it did not prevent the publication of sedition, and accordingly in 1910 the Press Act was passed. It provides, *inter alia*, for the deposit of security by keepers of printing presses and publishers of newspapers, and gives Local Governments power to declare the security forfeited in certain cases. A distinction is made between new presses and newspapers and old ones; the former have to give security unless the magistrate sees fit to dispense with it, while the latter are called upon only if they offend against the Act. If, after security has been [66] deposited, a press or a newspaper prints obnoxious matter the Local Government may declare the security and all copies of the newspaper, book or document involved to be forfeited. In that case if the press or newspaper is to go on further security must be deposited, and in the event of a second offence not only the security and the objectionable printed matter but the press itself is liable to forfeiture. It will be seen from the statistics given below that the more drastic procedure has seldom been necessary, but, although no journalist ever alleges that he wishes to print the sort of thing which the Act prohibits, it has come in for a great deal of criticism. In March, 1917, a deputation of the Press Association of India, a body formed in December, 1915, waited

upon His Excellency the Viceroy to lay before him "The grievances under which the press in this country is labouring by the operation of the Press Act. "The deputation alleged, at very great length, that the terms of the Act were so "amazingly wide" that the most honest journalist might be caught, that the Act had been used to penalise journals whose loyalty was unquestioned, and that the need, if ever there was any for this drastic measure no longer existed; accordingly they pressed for its repeal. In the course of his reply the Viceroy observed:—

"Your argument would lead one to suppose that this Act had been worked by the Local Governments with great harshness and indiscretion. I have had a careful search made of the records of the Government of India, but I cannot find that a single case of that character has been brought to our notice. On the other hand, the Government of India were careful from the first to issue instructions enjoining leniency and discrimination. In no single case has an appeal to a High Court against the Local Government's orders succeeded, and in the majority of cases the court has definitely branded the articles complained of as objectionable. Perhaps it will make the case a little clearer if we look at the statistics of the operation of this Act since 1910. Take newspapers first—143 have been warned once, 44 twice, and 30 thrice or oftener—only 3 have had their first security forfeited, not one its second. [67]

"As regards presses—55 have been warned once, 9 twice, and 5 thrice or oftener; 13 have had their first security forfeited, only one its second.

"I cannot agree with you that this evidences illiberal action on the part of executive authority. And in this period, if your argument holds good, we should surely expect to find a steady diminution in the number of presses, newspapers, and periodicals,—but what are the facts? The presses have increased from 2,736 in 1909-10 to 3,237 in 1915-16, the newspapers from 726 to 857 and the periodicals from 829 to 2,927. These figures do not support the theory that a journalist's career is as perilous as you suggest."

* * * * *

"You claim that the Press is now honest and law-abiding, and that all necessity for restriction has disappeared. Is that not rather arguing in a circle? Because a river has been embanked

and thus prevented from flooding the surrounding country, do the engineers say this river is now safe and we will not trouble to maintain the embankment? I do not think you can urge that because the floods have been controlled the possibility of their recurrence has disappeared. The history of the press in India is against your theory. In 1878 a growing section of the Indian press was expressing covert or open hostility to Government. The passing of the Act of that year exercised a restraining influence; but when it was removed there was a recrudescence of malevolent hostility. From 1884 to 1898 a section of the press steadily grew more scurrilous, more malignant, more seditious, until the Penal Law had to be strengthened in 1898. But even that was not sufficient. Misrepresentation and vilification of Government and even overt sedition went steadily on until the Newspapers (Incitement to Violence) Act was passed in 1908, and, it was only when that proved inadequate that the Press Act of 1910 now under discussion really checked the flood that was spreading over the land. Do not think I am framing an indictment against the press of India as a whole or against journalism as it is now conducted. I am only recounting the facts that led up to the debates in Legislative Council on the [68] Act of 1910. Those debates did not touch the case of the many well conducted and responsible papers then, any more than I am doing now. But that the danger then was great and serious I do not think that you dispute—and if you say the danger has passed away I cannot agree with you. For so long as there are papers in India, as there still are, that in pursuit of their own ends think it right to magnify the ills from which she suffers—to harp upon plague, famine, malaria and poverty and ascribe them all to the curse of an alien Government; so long as there are papers that play upon the weaknesses of impressionable boys and encourage that lack of discipline and of respect for all authority that has done so much to swell the ranks of secret revolution; so long as it is considered legitimate to stir up hatred and contempt in order to foster discontent, I feel that any relaxation of the existing law would be followed as surely as night follows day by a gradual increase of virulence until we should come back to the conditions that prevailed before the passing of the Act.”

After quoting a few selections from recent newspaper articles His Excellency continued—

“Do you come before me to-day as journalists to say that

you do not regret that such sentiments should have appeared in the public press? Do you suggest that language like this can have no ill-effect, and that you are prepared to see such things said every day through the length and breadth of India? Are these, I would ask you, the writings of persons "whose loyalty and good intentions and honesty of purpose are unquestioned, but who have unwittingly fallen into a trap" which the Act has laid for them? Can I judge the tree except by its fruit? These are not extracts from the old files of 1910: they are cuttings from newspapers of 1916. If the terrors of the Act to which you have so freely adverted are not sufficient to prevent the publication of such stuff as this, will you tell me what would happen if the Act were repealed? Can you blame me, if with such publications before me, and I am afraid I could find you more in the same strain, I refuse to assent to your assurance that the press of India has purged itself, and that the time has [69] come to accord to it once again the freedom which should be its pride no less than its privilege?"

THE YUGANTAR

The first and most pernicious of the revolutionary papers of Calcutta was the *Yugantar* (New Era) started in 1906 by Barindra Kumar Ghose and Abinash Chandra Bhattacharji, members of the Maniktolla Conspiracy (see page 136), and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, the brother of Swami Vivekananda, founder of the Ram Krishna Mission. The paper was seditious from the very start, but before being prosecuted it received on June 7th, 1907, a warning from the Government of Bengal in respect of an article which appeared in the issue of the 2nd of June. The warning had no effect, and the issue of June 16th contained two articles entitled "Away with Fear," and "The Medicine of the Big Stick" for which Bhupendra Nath Dutt, as editor, was prosecuted. He admitted full responsibility for the articles and was convicted by Mr. Kingsford on 24th July, 1907, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment; the press was ordered to be confiscated as an instrument used in the commission of the offence. On appeal the conviction and sentence were upheld, but the order of confiscation was set aside by the High Court on the ground that the press could not be so regarded.

The paper reappeared at once and the tone was worse than before. A prosecution was therefore instituted against Abinash

Chandra Bhattacharji as manager of the paper, and Basanta Kumar Bhattacharji, as printer and publisher, in respect of articles in the issues dated 30th July and 5th and 12 August, 1907. Abinash was acquitted, as it was not proved that he sold the paper, and Basanta was convicted on September 2nd and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. In the course of his judgment Mr. Kingsford remarked "The tone of the paper as exhibited in the articles which are the subject matter of the present case has become greatly more inflammatory than before, and in convicting the accused Basanta of the offence charged, [70] I think proper to award him a punishment of enhanced severity."

This also had no effect, and a third prosecution had to be undertaken on an article entitled "Hindu Herosm in the Punjab" published in the issue for 14th December, 1907. Baikunta Nath Acharjya, who had declared himself printer and publisher on 30th October, 1907, was convicted on 16th January, 1908, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. In the judgment in this case Mr. Kingsford remarked:—

"There can be no question as regards the seditious nature of the article; it is addressed primarily to the Sikh soldiers serving under the British Government, and it is an attempt to incite them to mutiny by putting forward a series of false, scurrilous and malicious charges against that Government.

"The prisoner was in Court on the occasion of a previous trial of the publisher of the *Yugantar*, and when he became the publisher on the 30th October he must have been well aware of the nature of the newspaper and of the fact that the editor had been sentenced to one year's imprisonment under Section 124-A, on the 24th July, 1907, and the printer and publisher in respect of a subsequent offence under the same section to two years' imprisonment and fine of Rs. 1,000 on the 2nd September, 1907. There can be no doubt, that the prisoner has published a series of seditious articles in pursuance of a settled plan of action. He says he is ignorant of their authorship; whether or not this is the truth, he is at any rate responsible for the fact that they have appeared in print. Under the circumstances I see no reason why I should refrain from imposing the severe penalty which the nature of the prisoner's offence demands.

"I need only add that the history of the *Yugantar* during the last few months exhibits the impotence of Government to deal with this class of publication under the existing law. In the interests of good Government and good order the paper ought long ago to have been suppressed. It is difficult to measure the harm which [71] is likely to result from such an article as that charged, when it is translated and circulated, as presumably it is intended to be, amongst those to whom it is ostensibly addressed. And while the law remains in its present state, there is little reason to doubt that the party of disorder will, on the guarantee of a sufficient indemnity, procure another catspaw to take the prisoner's place."

This anticipation was fulfilled, and a fourth prosecution had to be instituted in respect of an article "The Englishman's despotism" in the issue dated 4th April, 1908. Phanindra Nath Mitter, who had declared himself printer and publisher on the 4th of March was convicted on the 26th of May and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for one year and eleven months and a fine of Rs. 1,000. The Presidency Magistrate, on this occasion Mr. Thornhill, said in his judgement :—

"The article complained of speaks for itself. It is clearly seditious, and in my opinion no person, however extreme, could come to any other conclusion. Other articles, ten in number, from the issues of the 7th March, 11th April, 18th April and 2nd May of this year, have been put in by the prosecution to show the seditious character of this newspaper. They are all of a similar type and can leave no doubt in one's mind that the paper is run with the deliberate intention of stirring up strife and exciting disaffection towards Government."

The same Phanindra Nath Mitter was prosecuted a second time as printer and publisher for three articles which appeared in the issue of the 9th of May, 1908. He was committed for trial to the High Court, and on the 22nd of July was convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for three years.

Again a new printer and publisher was found for the paper, named Barindra Nath Banerji. In the issue dated, 30th May 1908, an article appeared entitled "The Bengali's bomb," in praise of bomb-throwers in general and the heroes of Muzaffarpore in particular. The printer and publisher was prosecuted for this article and committed to the High Court; on the 14th of

August he was convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for three years.

[72] In the meantime, on the 8th of June, 1908, the Newspapers (Incitements of Offences) Act (VII of 1908) was passed. It provided for the forfeiture of presses in which newspapers containing incitements to murder, or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence, were printed. This brought the *Yugantar*, as a newspaper, to an end, but the defect in the Act, that it applied only to newspapers, was at once noticed by the *Yugantar* gang who thereafter issued their revolutionary appeals in the form of leaflets.

Another prosecution connected with the *Yugantar* arose out of a disturbance which took place on August 7th, 1907, when the office of the paper was being searched. A crowd of students and others collected at the door, and Sailendra Nath Bose, an employee in the *Yugantar* office came out and informed the crowd that the premises were his and they could do what they pleased. Two European inspectors of police were assaulted with sticks in attempting to move the crowd on, and in consequence Sailendra Nath Bose and a student of the Ripon College named Jyotish Chandra Roy were convicted on the 26th August by Mr. Kingsford, and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for three months and one month respectively.

YUGANTAR SELECTIONS

That the *Yugantar* was revolutionary from the commencement, though it was not at first taken seriously, is apparent from the following extract from the issue dated 17th June, 1906 :—

“The foreigners manage by artifice to obtain and take away the wealth of the country and everything substantial in it, and throw the Indians, reduced by them to skeletons, into the horrid jaws of famine, pestilence and poverty. On the one hand inactivity, life-lessness, impotence and want of energy and, on the other, poverty, pestilence, scarcity and famine have gained a permanent footing in the land. Is this to be called peace? War or a revolution is an infinitely better thing than the peace under which mortality is fast rising in India. If even fifty millions of men disappeared from India in an attempt at deliverance, would even that not be preferable to death in impotency and peace? Why should he who was born a man and of a man die like a worm? Has the Almighty provided no means of deliverance for him who cannot prove him [73] self a man and act as such in his life? He has. **IF YOU CANNOT PROVE YOURSELF A MAN IN LIFE PLAY THE MAN IN DEATH.** Foreigners have come and decided how you are to live. **BUT HOW YOU ARE TO DIE DEPENDS**

ENTIRELY UPON YOURSELF. Others have meddled in your mode of living, but no one can meddle in your mode of dying. The right of deciding how you are to die is your own. If you cannot show yourself a man in life, show yourself one in death—that is the teaching of the times.”

The following passage from an article which appeared on the 3rd of March, 1907, is one of many advocating the use of physical force and justifying bloodshed as a religious duty :—

“The laws of the English are based on their brute force. If we want to liberate ourselves from those laws, it is brute force that it is necessary for us to accumulate. It is therefore, then, that the right course of action now lies for us. It will not do not to go against the law for all time. *Swarajya* will never be established if in the humiliation of truth is sought protection for self. In our country must be re-enacted what has happened in other countries. There is no other door of admission into life but death.

You will inquire how, being weak, we can enter on a trial of strength with the powerful English.

Be not afraid. Not very many listened to the young Mazzini on the day when, wounded to his heart's core by the sufferings and poverty of Italy, he firmly resolved to free his country from bondage. But to-day Italy has expiated her own sin and has washed away in human blood the blackness of her stigma. Oh, sons of Bengal, worshippers of Sakti, will you be averse from that? Under the stress of plague and famine, lakhs and lakhs of people are dying every year in the country. And are not ten thousand sons of Bengal prepared to embrace death to avenge the humiliation of their father-land? The number of Englishmen in the entire country is not more than a lakh and a half. And what is the number of English officials in each district? With a firm resolve you can bring English rule to an end in a single day. The time has come to make the Englishmen understand that enjoyment of the sweets of dominion in the country of another, after wrongfully taking possession of it, will not be permitted to continue for ever. Let him now fully realise that the life of a thief who steals the property of others is no longer an easy one in this country. Begin yielding up a life for a life. Dedicate your life as an offering at the temple of liberty. Without bloodshed the worship of the goddess will not be accomplished.”

The following is from the article “Away with Fear” which appeared on 16th June, 1907, and formed the subject of the first prosecution :—

[74] “In the course of conversation a respected *pandit* said the other day that this vast British Empire was a huge sham; that it was a house without a foundation or a garland strung without a thread; that though it glittered and looked so nice with its crimson hue, a slight pull or a little push would bring it down to fragments. That it does not fall is due simply to our foolishness. The tide of oppression has passed over us for century after century. Subjection for a thousand years has so bewildered us with

fear that we cannot muster up enough courage even to come out of the privacy of our houses to see who is sitting to-day as king on the vacant throne. We see the high diadem from a distance and utter our prayers and take the name of God. Our King, too, seeing the opportunity, is aggravating our internal confusion by sometimes wielding the sceptre and sometimes smiling a forced smile. He and we have never become intimately acquainted with each other. A close look at the face of a ghost dispels all fear of it.

After looking at it from a distance for so long we, too, have at last come to suspect that the hands and feet of the ghost are not really so strong as its face is hideous; that the bugbear is not really so large as we have supposed it to be. What we ought to do now most of all therefore, is to give a little push to the bugbear and see what happens. In the Punjab scarcely was the bugbear touch with a finger when it leapt and jumped, mostly from fear and partly also from anger.

What we want now is a number of men who will take the lead in giving a push and thus encourage the masses and infuse hope in the minds of those who are almost dead with fear and dread. It will not do to form a company with those who are stiff with fear. Mere words will not convince such men. They must be shown by deeds done before their eyes that the work is not impossible exactly to the extent that they think it to be, and that the arms of the English are not so long as to grasp India and keep it within their grasp against our wish.

What is wanted therefore is a number of workers who will renounce every worldly thing and break off every worldly tie and plunge into the sea of duty; who will understand everything themselves and then make others understand; who will die themselves and deliver others from the fear of death; who will have neither home, nor son nor wife but will have only their Mother, the country of their birth, green with crops and well-watered. Will there not be found one in the whole of Bengal who is ready to respond to the Mother's call?

Once fear is dispelled the work will become easy and all the brag of the English will be of no avail."

The other article in the same issue on "The medicine of the big stick" contained the following :—

"In Bengal we have cried ourselves hoarse during the last two years, and sent up the price of paper in the bazaar by using up [75] quires upon quires in submitting petitions couched in the most correct and elegant language. But as the result of all this we have been fortunate enough to get nothing but thrusts of lathis, and partitioned Bengal remains parted. But in the Punjab a hue and cry was raised as soon as the water-rate was enhanced. The period of making representations and submitting petitions did not last more than two weeks. The people then applied the remedy which is always applied to fools. There were a few heads broken and a few houses were burnt down, and the authorities gave up the idea of enhancing the water-rate. The Colonisation Act, too, became inoperative. How wonderful is the remedy! The Kabuli medicine is indeed the best of medicines."

The establishment of revolutionary secret societies is described in the following extract from the issue of 15th July, 1907. It was not a mere academic discussion, for the heading of the article is "Shall we be able"?

"First the revolutionaries have to establish their own party all over the country. The centre (Central Association) of the revolutionary party has to be placed in the Capital City or in some other important place. Different branch Associations of the centre (Central Association) have to be established in other important places in the country; and in those branch Associations the common aim and method of work of the Associations are followed. These central and branch Associations silently and secretly do their own work in unison. Whether it be the branch Associations or the central Association, all of course, make, each in its own way, various preparations for a revolution, such as the formation of public opinion, collection of arms, collection of money, etc., but in everything they do they have to advance very secretly, keeping themselves outside the ken of the sovereign power. The sovereign power never quietly brooks preparations for its destruction. It tries its best to nip the tree of revolution in the bud. The party trying to secure independence has, therefore, to adopt various artifices in order to evade the eagle eye of the sovereign power.

"In this manner the necessity for a revolution has to be explained in various ways to the common people. The object of educating common people in this fashion is that at the time of real war with the sovereign power they will, instead of opposing, render help in various ways. Herein lies the strength of the following of the revolutionaries. By educating people in this manner, while the strength of the following of the revolutionaries increases that of the sovereign power decreases. If the true nature of the oppressor is painted in bright colours for the common people, and they are shown how the oppression he commits can be brought to an end, then a desire to break the strong chain of subjection is created in their hearts also. There are various ways of educating people in this fashion. We shall mention only one or two. The sacred cry for independence must be raised from that direction from which it will be easiest to capture the public mind. The mind of [76] man can be very quickly captured by means of newspapers, books, *jatra* (operatic performances), *kathakatha* (singing and narrating spirited poetry), etc. If therefore, the *mantra* (formula) of independence is popularised by these means, men's hearts very soon advance towards the field of action."

The *Yugantar* was naturally very strongly anti-British, as exemplified in this passage from the issue of the 30th November, 1907 :—

"To-day the Bengalis alone of all the Indians have understood that the Westerners are a set of fierce and blood-thirsty beasts of prey. They are a nation completely devoid of mercy, righteousness, conscience and manly virtues. They do not want the world to be made happy. They do not want righteousness in the world. They want to live for themselves

only. They want everything for themselves to eat. They want to fill their coffers with all the treasures of all the nations of the world. They want all the inhabitants of the world to lay everything that they possess at their feet and become their slaves. The Bengalis have understood this, and are consequently trying to dispel the illusion. The Bengali is to-day making all India appreciate his own sterling divine qualities. This is why that avaricious, blood-thirsty nation is going about with open mouth and baring its fearful teeth to devour the Bengalis”.

The article of 14th December, 1907, on “Hindu Heroism in the Punjab”, which formed the subject of the third prosecution of the *Yugantar*, was a very long one, consisting mainly of variations on the following theme :

“In the middle of the 18th (19th) century, in seeking to measure strength with the highly powerful Sikh race on the field of battle, even the soldiers of the English race, who now brag of the strength of their sword, but are averse to fighting and are strong through the help of the swords of the Sikh and the Gurkha, were compelled to flee like a flock of sheep. The sharp whipping of the battle of Chillianwalla the barbarous English are not even yet able to forget. The battlefields of Mudki, etc., still continue to float before the eyes of the people of India as so many proof of English defeat. If the Punjabi heroes of the land of the five rivers, released from the spell (which is now on them), again step forward to battle for the defence of kine and Brahmins in India, the drunken drowsy eyes of this Western race will at once look out for a way of escape, flinging far off the sword of whose power the English brag in the pride of unreal strength. A country cannot be ruled by cannon and rifles; manliness and heroism too are wanted. In how many battles have the English, so far, been victorious? Yet the inhabitants of the Punjab, like gods under a curse, do not even now revive the memories of the past and step forward to defend their country. . . . Nevertheless, Bengalis, consider this—how long will a handful of cowardly English remain in India if the Sikh nation again takes its [77] stand as it did in the days when Lord Gough and others, in their bovine ignorance of the art of war, were taught a lesson at Chillianwalla.”

In an article published on May 2nd, 1908, on the subject of the Mutiny of 1857, which is described as “the first Indian war of independence,” the writer says :—

“Is it possible that the fire which was kindled fifty years ago has been altogether extinguished within so short a time? Is there no one who has kept some smouldering embers of that fire to burn the race of *mlecchas*? Has the flame of the fire, which has in all ages destroyed demons and monsters, been put out altogether? No, it cannot be. It may be that the fire has become invisible to ordinary sight, but the power latent in it is present all the same. That power can never be put down. It lies hidden in every atom, and its embers will burst out into a full blaze as soon as there is a favourable wind. Hence it cannot be

said that the entire Indian nation has been enervated by servitude, as some would suppose. It is impossible for any nation to sink into the mire of subjection within so short a period as fifty years. The men who appeared in the arena the other day with clashing swords and thundering roars may be silent and quiet now, but the spirit which animated them is not yet dead."

The following are extracts from the article on "The Bengali's Bomb" in respect of which the paper was prosecuted for the sixth time :—

"Bengali boys have learnt to make bombs, but they have not yet learnt to throw them well. It is because they are yet unable to take proper aim and hit the mark that in the Muzaffarpur accident they killed persons other than him whom they intended to kill. It is only because their hands were not trained and their heads not sufficiently cool that two innocent ladies have had to die. . . . It is beyond the vision of the secret spies of the *feringhi sarkar* to see where, in some solitary room in the kitchen, brothers, sisters, mothers and daughters together are making and can make bombs. Even the extensive machinery and factories of England have to own themselves beaten by the way in which the Bengali can manufacture bombs, guns and cartridges. Let the unostentatious preparations for their great revolution be silently made and collected in every house. A handful of policemen and English soldiers will not be able to find them out. They will not be able to keep in check this extensive preparation for a great Kurukhetra by obstructing it. The inclination to make this preparation is due to the spirit of the age; it is a law of nature; it is the unobstructed awakening of the instinct of self-preservation of a sleeping race, persecuted, despised, and trampled under foot for a long time. Two or four boys have been arrested to-day. Although Hem Chandra, Ullaskar and others will never more be united with us in the field of action [78]—we know indeed that they will never escape from the grim jaws of the English—thousands and thousands of Hem Chandras and Ullaskars have come up again and are standing in front. Hence there is no reason to despair. The soil of India is ever fertile with the blood of heroes."

The same issue contained an article on "The Traitor's expiation," an attack upon detectives and spies, which included the following :—

"The enemy is trying to increase the number of traitors by bribes. They have made detectives even of high Government servants by holding out to them the temptation of money. We know all this. They are trying to gather information by sending about low class men as spies. In the bomb case at Alipur a barbar is now giving his deposition as a spy. It is said that this barbar followed Barindranath and others to almost every place. Such are the spies that are engaged, and they are trying to have all the young men who seek independence arrested. The country has become eager for their expiation. The public is showing

great eagerness to know how these traitors will be detected and punished. This general eagerness will, we believe, soon take the form of action. And the indomitable spirit of revenge will continue to be terribly gratified by the traitor's blood. Once the national fire is roused it will be impossible for the antagonist to stand against it. Such wrath is never quieted until it has destroyed the antagonist's *gotra* (clan), *gosthi* (kindred) and *bansha* (family), and this wrath will doubtless reduce all to ashes, both the great offenders and those who are wrongly suspected. The time of expiation is at hand."

The Worship of Sakti (Power) was also discussed in the same number, in an article which included the following passage:—

"Some of the Mother's votaries have been hitherto worshipping her in secret, and now they are revealing themselves slowly. This has caused a flutter among the race of monsters who are trying hard to thwart the noble enterprise of these true sons of India. But let us warn those cat-eyed fellows not to disturb the Mother's worship. The Mother is thirsty and is pointing out to her sons the only thing that can quench that thirst. Nothing less than human blood and decapitated human heads will satisfy her. Let her sons, therefore, worship her with these offerings, and let them not shrink even from sacrificing their lives to procure them. On the day on which the Mother is worshipped in this way in every village, on that day will be people of India be inspired with a divine spirit and the crown of independence will fall into their hands."

THE SANDHYA

Another paper closely connected with the *Yugantar*, and for a time printed at the same press, was the *Sandhya*. [79] The title of the paper means "Twilight", and the point of it may be found in a remark made in the paper in September, 1907, warning the English that after the passing of the *Sandhya* comes night-fall when the squaring of accounts with the *Feringhi* will begin. The paper was extremely seditious and fanatical, and in August, 1907, proceedings were taken against it; the manager Saroda Charan Sen was arrested on the 29th, and the editor Brahma Bandhab Upadhyaya and the printer and publisher Hari Charan Das on September 3rd. While the case was still pending the editor died, and on November 18th the case against the others were withdrawn as they explained that they had been entirely under the influence of the deceased, admitted that the articles charged were both scurrilous and seditious, and tendered an apology to the Government of Bengal.

Hari Charan Das had already cancelled his declaration as

printer and publisher, and on October 28th, 1907, a fresh declaration was filed by Manabindra Nath Chatterji. The paper continued to publish sedition, and this man was prosecuted in respect of an article in the issue of 7th January, 1908, entitled "The same thing again; brother, arise." He was convicted on 19th February, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000. The following is taken from Mr. Kingsford's judgment in the case :—

"The accused admits that he is Printer and Publisher of the paper; he says in fact that he is also Editor and Manager; and he accepts full responsibility for the article charged, and declines to make any defence. The article like others that have been put in from the same paper in order to show intention, is of a grossly seditious character. I think it is unnecessary to deal with the articles in detail; they impute to Government the most dishonest and abominable motives and are deliberately calculated to provoke feelings of enmity and hostility to it and to incite to violence and attempts to subvert the Government. The article charged and another in the *Sandhya* of 9th January are written with the object of showing that the Military Police of Mymensingh looted shops and houses and violated the sanctity of the Zenana under the direct orders [80] of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam; and that this was done after consultation with the Government of Bengal which had itself instigated the police to commit rioting in Calcutta at the close of last year. The article charged concludes with an exhortation to Bengalis to rise and save their country. It is apparent that the leniency exhibited by Government to the persons connected with the same paper who were on trial under similar charges last year has not been appreciated. The tone of the articles being of the most malicious and scandalous type, I consider a severe punishment necessary."

On February 20th, 1908, the day after the conviction of the last printer, a new man appeared before the Chief Presidency Magistrate and registered himself as printer under the name of Jogendra Nath Sen. It was found, on enquiry, that his real name was Lal Behari Sen, and he was prosecuted for making a false declaration; the defence was that he had two names, and in the end he was warned and discharged on the 28th of May.

In the issue of the paper dated 13th November, 1908, an article appeared entitled "Kanai Lal on the Cremation Ground", which described the execution of Kanai Lal Dutt for the murder

in jail of the approver in the Maniktolla Conspiracy Case and glorified him as a martyr. Under the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act proceedings were taken against the "Classic Press" where the paper was printed, and on 21st January, 1909, the court declared the press forfeited.

SANDHYA SELECTIONS

A few extracts will illustrate the style of this paper. In an article published on the 13th April, 1907, the *Sandhya* justified its abuse of the English in the following manner :—

"The *Feringhi* has brought the printing press to this country, and it is he who has taught us the art of writing newspapers. In a word, the press, the paper, the pen, the post-office, the telegraph, everything belongs to the *Feringhi*. The newspapers written by the *Feringhi* are our guides. We simply avail ourselves of the opportunity thus given, and say a few words, but the *Feringhi* is the gainer all round. If now we make bold to speak out the truth, the [81] law of sedition is sought to be brought into play to make us pay some more money. For, when a prosecution is started, the *Feringhi* Barrister must be employed, and must be paid handsomely. O what an admirable business instinct is this of the *Feringhi* ! The *Feringhi* knows how to pick out gold even from an ash-pit. The *Feringhis* will say that we write many things in our paper only to create disaffection against their administration. But we have never asked anybody to extend his patronage to us. Yet our paper commands a sale, such a sale that we can hardly cope with the demand. We said once, and we repeat, O *Feringhi*, that in a country where even the infernal spirits are sometimes worshipped, nothing but abusive language applied to you finds a market. Can you tell why this should be so ? In reply we say that it is owing to your pettiness O *Feringhi*, when you used to "plunder treasuries and kill rhinoceroses," as the saying goes, when you were not a mean stealer of *lotas*, then such abuse did not find favour with the people of this country. You are now, as we said above, a thief who steals *lotas*, and therefore you get what the petty thief must expect to get, nothing but reproaches. By partitioning Bengal you have gained a few posts and the means of draining the country by your administration, and no more. For this petty gain, for this worn-out *lota*, you have maddened and mortified the people of Bengal. Where, then, should calumnies about you be welcomed by the public if not in this country ?"

On the 29th April, 1907, the paper began to advise the preparation of bombs.

"Let us all come forward now and unite to establish posts in every town and village. It will not do to stock these posts with lathis only. Fireworks will have to be laid in. If the *Feringhis* do not grant passes for guns, small bombs will have to be kept. Knowledge of the method of preparing bombs is necessary. One's own jurisdiction, one's own

home will have to be protected with the aid of these fireworks, of these bombs."

The same subject was taken up again on the 6th of May, 1907.

"There is one respect in which we are not ready yet. The *Feringhis* have taken away our guns from us and attack us with guns themselves. But even that is being provided for. Hand-bombs are being prepared of a kind which will beat your bullets hollow. We shall see how far the police muster courage then to commit oppression." * * * * "Come now, brethren, let us make a move for the protection of our own and our rights. But mere words will not avail. Without the *lathi* and the bomb the *Feringhi* will not be brought to his senses and will not care for you in the least."

[82] The usual religious touch was added in another article in the same issue.

"It is a matter for great rejoicing that an excellent kind of bomb is being manufactured. This bomb is called *Kali Mai's boma* (the bomb of Mother Kali). It is being experimented on, and if it comes out of the test successfully it must be kept in every house. This bomb is so light that one can walk with it in one's hand. It has not to be set fire to; it explodes with a loud noise and shakes the earth if it is thrown on the ground with some little force. People are frightened at this kind of talk but why? Whence have you learnt the slavery which teaches that you cannot form a band for self-defence, while the non-official *Feringhis* can combine to form volunteer forces? A son is wanted from every family who must practise the virtues of the *Khatriya* (Warrior). Let them play with *Kali Mai's boma*."

Again on the 14th of May, 1907, the same point was pressed further.

"Abundant supplies should also be laid in of bows and arrows and of that *Kali Mai's boma* (Mother Kali's bomb) of ours. It has not to be set fire to; it has simply to be thrown with a little force or dropped from a height among a band of *gundas* (rascals). As soon as it is thrown you hear a sharp sound, and ten to twenty men are brought down. It entails no cost to prepare this *Kali Mai's boma*, and it does not require to be stored in large quantities. These bombs can be prepared according as they are required".

The following extract is from an article which appeared in the *Sandhya*, dated 21st August, 1907, one of those for which the paper was prosecuted :—

"Most merciful is the *Feringhi*.
It is by his grace that our beard grows,
And that we eat sweet potatoes in winter.

Thanks to the *Feringhi's* rules the pot is now sucked empty by him and wails are heard in every house in fruitful India. Thanks to his kindness our very bones are overgrown with grass. Every year the *Feringhi* drains away 25 crores of our money. Where then should plague and famine be if not in our country? It is those who have not enough to eat, sufficient clothing to cover themselves with, and comfortable beds to lie on, that fall victims to plague. It is in quarters inhabited by the poor that the plague makes desolating ravages. Has any one of you ever seen plague break out in Chowringhee? The plague is a disease to which the poor are peculiarly liable. Plague means poverty and we are dying of plague. Pestilence is for us, for we have no food in our stomachs; foreigners are snatching away morsels of food from our mouths. When the *Feringhi* had no food in his country he, too, used to die like us. [83] Now that he has carried away by force the goddess of fortune, he is blessed with plenty. That is why the plague that used to afflict the *Feringhi* now sits on our shoulders. Strictly considered, it is the *Feringhi* who has brought plague into our country; in fact the *Feringhi* is our plague." After some remarks on the theory that plague is carried by rats the writer proceeds. "But the people of the country have far other notions of the cause of plague. They realise that it is the *Feringhi* rat who has brought plague into the country by robbing it of its wealth and foodgrains. They realise that this rat is the root of plague. That is why they have set the trap of boycott to catch this rat, and now they see that, caught in this trap, the *Feringhi* is chewing fried rice; seeing this they shout with delight "*Bande Mataram*."

THE BANDE MATARAM (OF CALCUTTA)

It will be noticed that, except in the two first *Yugantar* cases, proceedings were not taken against the editor or the manager of a newspaper, but only against persons who had filed the statutory declaration as printer and publisher. The explanation is that editors and managers were not required by law to register, and it was found impossible to bring home the responsibility to the manager in the second *Yugantar* case, or to the editor in the *Bande Mataram* case.

The *Bande Mataram* was a daily paper in English started in November, 1906, by Arabindo Ghose and a few friends. The *Yugantar* was the paper for the masses; it was written in fluent colloquial Bengali, the price was one farthing, and the circulation, which was about 7,000 in 1907, rapidly rose to a very much higher figure. The *Bande Mataram* was intended to appeal to a more educated class of readers, but it was closely connected with the *Yugantar*. In 1908 Abinash Bhattacharji, who was proved in the second *Yugantar* case to be the manager, was found to be living in the same house with Arabindo Ghose, and the *Bande Mataram* occasionally republished articles from its disreputable

vernacular contemporary. One of these, and some of the editor's own writing got it into trouble, and a prosecution was sanctioned at the end of July, 1907, in respect of an original article, "Politics for Indians," which appeared on 27th and 28th June, and the republication on July 26th of articles from the [84] *Yugantar*. The latter appeared in the *Bande Mataram* under the heading "*Yugantar* Case; articles on which action was taken," and occupied almost a whole page of the paper. The defence was that these articles formed part of a substantially true report of the proceedings of a court, but as a matter of fact only a few of them were exhibited in the *Yugantar* case. The court accordingly held that "this was not a case where a mere sample of the venomous utterances of a vernacular paper was placed in good faith before the reader in order to give him an insight into the manners and ways of thought prevailing in that description of newspaper; the whole mass of seditious writing collected by the prosecution was republished under cloak of repeating the proceedings of a Court of Justice but with the actual intention of bringing the Government into hatred and contempt." The article "Politics for Indians" was also held to be seditious, the magistrate remarking "To say that the Government has become a Government of Evil Spirits, is to say that the country is ruled by Evil Spirits; and it is against the Government that the calumny which follows is directed."

Discussing the evidence that Arabindo was the editor the magistrate observed, "This evidence is to the effect that Arabindo is a shareholder in the paper, that he took the chair at a preliminary meeting held in October, the minutes of which show that he and Bepin Chandra Pal were appointed joint editors, that a notice was printed in the issue of the paper of 12th December to the effect that Arabindo was the editor, that this was followed on 17th December by another notice which announced that Bepin Chandra Pal had terminated his connection with the paper, that Arabindo was in Calcutta from April to July, and was attending at the *Bande Mataram* office, that his name was entered at the head of the list of the editorial staff in the pay register for January, February, and March, which entries were subsequently erased, and that he received a sum of Rs. 50 in payment for service in July." The defence was that Arabindo was not the editor, but was employed on the staff and contributed to the edi-

torial columns ; that in fact there was no editor but an editorial staff which was jointly responsible.

[85] Owing mainly to the refusal of Bepin Chandra Pal to give evidence, for which he was afterwards convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment, the case against Arabindo Ghose failed. The manager, Hemendra Nath Bagchi, was also acquitted, as there was no evidence that he distributed the paper nor any presumption that he was aware of its contents. The printer and publisher only, Apurba Krishna Bose, was convicted on 23rd September, 1907, and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for three months, and his appeal was dismissed by the High Court in November.

A second prosecution was instituted in respect of an editorial headed "New Conditions" which appeared in the issue dated 30th April, 1908, the day of the first successful revolutionary bomb outrage. The printer only, Bishnupada Sen, was prosecuted, but owing to his illness the case did not come on for hearing for some months. Meantime an article headed "Traitor in the Camp" appeared in the paper on the 14th of September, 1908. It was in praise of Kanai Lal Dutt who murdered Norendra Nath Gossain, the approver in the Maniktolla Conspiracy Case, and this time proceedings were taken under the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act. The press was declared forfeit in November, 1908, and on appeal to the High Court the magistrate's order was upheld in December. The paper then ceased to appear, and the printer, Bishnupada Sen, recovered sufficiently from his illness to appear in court on the 11th of January and plead for leniency on this ground. The case was not pressed by the prosecution and he was warned and discharged.

BANDE MATARAM SELECTIONS

The following is an extract from the article in the *Bande Mataram* on "Politics for Indians," in respect of which the first prosecution was undertaken :—

"Mr. Morley has said that we cannot work the machinery of our Government for a week if England generously walks out of our country. While this supposition is not conceivable in the nature of man, did it not strike Mr. Morley that if, instead of walking out [86] the English were by force driven out of India, the Government will go on perhaps better than before, for the simple reason that the exercise of power and organisation necessary to drive out so organised an enemy will in

the struggle that would ensue teach us to arrange our own affairs sufficiently well."

Among the *Yugantar* articles re-published in the paper and included in the same prosecution was the following from the *Yugantar* of 5th of May, 1907 :—

"But it is useless to talk to you Englishmen in this strain. You are not a man, you are a demon, you are an "asura." Otherwise our Surendranath would not have talked all this nonsense to your representative near the battle-field of Jamalpore. You are surely a demon, or otherwise you would not on the one hand have converted the millions of educated Indians into lambs and, on the other, would not have induced thousands of Musalmans in Eastern Bengal to forget themselves and engage in a quarrel with their brothers. Your Minto and Hare are dangerous people who have no equal in the art of demoniac duplicity. Who calls you a tiger? Who calls you the British Lion? There are no tigers or lions in your country which contains only moles, jackals and dogs. In childhood we read only of these animals in your books and today in the field of politics, too, we are being acquainted with the self-same animals."

The article headed "New Conditions" suggests that the writer knew what was being attempted at Muzaffarpore. He says :—

"An immense and incalculable revolution is at hand, and its instruments must be themselves immense in their aspiration, uncalculating in their self-immolation. A sacrifice, of which the mightiest Yajna of old can only be a feeble type and far-off shadow, has to be instituted and the victims of that sacrifice are ourselves, our lives, our property, our hopes, our ambitions, all that is personal and not of God, all that is devoted to our own service and taken from the service of the country." Then, after a reference to the disruption of the Indian National Congress at Surat in December, 1907, he concludes, "The disappearance of the old Congress announces the end of the preparatory stage of the movement, the beginning of a clash of forces whose first full shock will produce chaos. The fair hope of an orderly and peaceful evolution of self-government, which the first energies of the new movement had fostered, are gone for ever. Revolution, bare and grim, is preparing her battlefield, mowing down the centres of order which were evolving a new cosmos, and building up the materials of a gigantic downfall and a mighty new creation. We could have wished it otherwise, but God's will be done." [87]

The following passages are taken from the article "Traitor in the Camp" which led to the confiscation of the press :—

"From Jaychand to Oomichand is a far cry, but the political history of our country for all those long centuries of indelible shame can be

summarised and accounted for in the four short words—"Traitor in the camp."....."And the no less singular feature of this ghastly thing is that through all these countless years it is always the person at whose instance he turned traitor who has punished the miserable miscreant, but the country could never find a single son to rise and avenge her on the hated monster by smiting him to the ground. Now for the first time the current is turned. For the very first time a cause has produced a votary who has willingly sacrificed his life to visit on its betrayer his merited doom. Kanai has killed Norendra. No more shall the wretch of an Indian who kisses away the heads of his comrades reckon himself safe from the avenging hand. 'The first of the avengers' History shall write of Kanai. And from the moment he fired the fatal shot the spaces of his country's heaven have been ringing with the echo of the voice—"Beware of the Traitor's fate'."

THE KARMAYOGIN

Arabindo Ghose's next journalistic venture was a weekly magazine called the *Karmayogin* (The Devotee of Action) started in June, 1909. In the issue dated 25th December, 1909, a letter headed "To my Countrymen" appeared over the signature of Arabindo Ghose. It was considered very objectionable and proceedings were instituted, but no attempt was made to arrest Arabindo till the beginning of April, 1910, when he was found to have taken refuge in Pondicherry. The printer Monmohan Nath Ghose was prosecuted, and in June he was convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. He appealed to the High Court, and after lengthy arguments and discussions between the bench and the bar the conviction and sentence were set aside in October. Arabindo Ghose, however, did not return to Calcutta, and the magazine came to an end.

THE SUPRABHAT MAGAZINE

This was a Bengali monthly magazine started in July, 1907, and edited by Miss Kumudini Mitter, daughter of [88] K. K. Mitter, editor of the *Sanjibani* newspaper. It was printed in a different press, but on the same premises, 6, College Square, Calcutta, where the family also resided. The title *Suprabhat* means "The Auspicious Morning," and the motto printed under the title was,—

"March on ! March on ! Oh brothers !
It is useless to lag behind; it is useless
to be like the dead. What good is there,
Oh Brother, in living a life in death ?
Brother, March on ! March on !"

The place of honour in the first number was given to a poem entitled *Suprabhat* by the celebrated poet Rabindranath Tagore, the leading idea of which is contained in the following stanza :—

Whose voice do we hear coming from the sunrise,
Saying to us, "Fear not ! Fear not !"
There is no death for him who will lay down his life.'

The voice is, of course, the voice of Sri Krishna, and whatever the poet may have meant the tone of the magazine shows that the editress, in giving prominence to this poem, was laying stress on the interpretation of the *Gita* favoured by Arabindo Ghose and the revolutionaries of Maniktolla. The editorial "Introduction," from which the following passages are taken, further explains her attitude :—

"In the midst of the despondency which seems to have seized the elderly portion of the community, the younger portion are inspired with hope and enthusiasm, and they are confident that the long dark night is about to be succeeded by a bright day. Their enthusiasm has communicated itself to the once inert part of the social organism.

* * *

"The whole nation is gradually coming to realise what a glory and privilege it is to be allowed to die in the service of one's own country. This keen desire to lay down one's life in such a cause always manifests itself before the rise of any new nation into power and influence."

The idea is further elaborated in a poem in the second number entitled "The Auspicious time for 'worship'" from which the following stanza is taken :—

"The Mother's worship can no longer be performed with fruit and flowers. [89]
The Mother's hunger can no longer be appeased with words only.
Blood is wanted !
Heads are wanted !
Workers are wanted !
Warriors and heroes are wanted !
Labour is wanted, and firm vows and bands of followers;
The Mother can no longer be worshipped with fruit and flowers."

Succeeding issues contained articles on such subjects as how the independence of Spain was achieved by secret societies, how by assassinating the King of Portugal "some insignificant men, having sacrificed their lives, were able to re-establish the country's liberty and pride," the secret history of the Indian Mutiny, and so on. The first Bengalis to follow this advice were Khudi-

ram Bose, and Profulla Chaki who committed the bomb outrage at Muzaffarpore on April 30th, 1908 (see Chapter V). The May number contained an editorial in which the writer held that it was oppression, and the inability to check it by any other means, that had led the weak and unarmed Bengalis to take to secret ways, namely to the manufacture of bombs for the purpose of killing oppressors, which was an idea quite new to Bengal. The writer praised the bomb throwers for their firmness, fearlessness and truthfulness, and gave a brief account of the life of Profulla Chaki.

The July, 1908, number contained a photograph of the dead body of Profulla Chaki, taken at Mokameh station after he had committed suicide, with a poem in the form of a dialogue between Profulla and the "Mother".

The Mother asks "Why, Oh traveller! have you died an untimely death in this horrible path?" and the dead man replies:—

"Where is the pain, Oh Mother! where is the grief?
Daily I play with death; death is no enemy of mine."

The Mother rejoins,

"Oh child, whose loved one are you?
For your sake I die
The sight of your golden face makes me glad,
but why have you become so desperate, and why is there
no fear in your tender heart?"

The dead again replies,

"In this vast world many are the homes that
call me with voices of affection; many are the kind
women who will treat me as mothers.
Death is my bride and my mother!"

At the end of the poem the Mother asks his name and with a last salute to her he replies, "My name is Immortal."

Khudiram Bose, the other assassin, was similarly honoured in the October, 1908, number, just after his execution. The following poem was printed on the page opposite his photograph:—

Come back again

"Oh deathless devotee, the song of thy glory will never cease,
The voice of time will be raised echoing that song softly;
The flame of the pyre will blaze with redoubled brightness.
Come back again!

The universe beholds with amazement this strange new sight,
This new achievement. Anguished eyes are gazing;
Hast thou deserted us after kindling the flame?

Come back again!"

"Thy fellow pilgrims watch beside the pyre to complete the worship.

They place the basket of renown and glory on the bank of the Ganges.
 Their yearning eyes are uplifted;
 Come back again !

* * *

Now is the sacred dawn of a new life,
 Now each heart throbs in unison with the hearts of all.
 Holding the thunderbolt to their hearts, and wiping away their
 tears, the bands of Santans cry.
 'Come back again !' "

After this the tone of the magazine was considerably modified, though it continued to appear till 1910, and always maintained a revolutionary attitude. The direct praise of assassins was given up, and references to [91] contemporary events were made in such a form that, though well understood by the readers of the magazine, they were too vague to be regarded as incitements to further crime. An example may be given from a short poem on the birthday of K. K. Mitter in the issue for January, 1910. All quarters of the land, says the poet, are being startled by the sounds of incessant thunder, and the year (1909) closes in the midst of blazing fire (1). You (2) are in prison in the posture of religious meditation, with a heart satisfied by the discharge of duty. Sacrifices are burning on all sides. They (3) have departed to a distant land for the love of their Mother. He (4) has come home after long sufferings in prison; where are you that you do not take him by the hand ?

The following are the matters to which the poet obviously refers,—

- (1) The Collector of Nasik was shot dead on December, 21st, 1909 ; Nasik, being in Bombay, is a distant quarter of the land from Calcutta.
- (2) K. K. Mitter was still in jail under Regulation III of 1818.
- (3) Seven of the principal convicts in the Maniktolla bomb case sailed for the Andamans on 12th December, 1909.
- (4) Arabindo Ghose, on his release from jail in May, 1909, went to live at K. K. Mitter's house.

The magazine came to an end in 1910, probably on account of the Press Act which was passed in February of that year.

THE KESARI AND THE MAHRATTA

As mentioned in Chapter II the *Kesari*, the title of which means "The Lion", was started by B. G. Tilak in 1880 and pub-

lished weekly in Poona in Marathi along with a similar weekly in English called the *Mahratta*. The one paper is not a translation of the other and they have different editors, but they are, as might be expected conducted on the same lines; the principal difference is that the vernacular paper is rather more strongly [92] expressed. The explanation doubtless is that, in the event of a prosecution, the English paper speaks for itself, while the Marathi paper appears in court in the form of a translation, and it is always possible for the defence to allege that it is a mistranslation; certainly the argument "Traduttore, traditore" was strongly urged, both in cross-examination and in the speech for the defence, in the prosecution of the *Kesari* in 1908

Tilak's period of pronounced hostility to Government may be dated from the foundation by him of the Shivaji movement in 1895, and two years later it was found necessary to prosecute him on account of some seditious verses which appeared in the *Kesari*. He was ably defended by a Parsi lawyer named Mr. Davar, but was convicted in the Bombay High Court by Mr. Justice Strachey and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, of which six months were afterwards remitted by Government on certain conditions, accepted by Tilak, as to his writing in future.

During the next ten years the paper went on week by week undermining the loyalty of the people of the Bombay Deccan. Its leading articles were models of Marathi style, and contained just enough ginger to make them palatable to the Indian public without too flagrantly offending the more sensitive taste of the Oriental Translator, and the legal advisers of Government. It grew steadily in popularity; by 1907 its circulation had risen to 20,000 copies, and its tone reflected and concentrated the general feeling of unrest which was at that time spreading over the whole country. The following account, which is taken from the Annual Report of the Bombay Government for 1907, gives a good general view of the character and policy of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* at the time.

"Among Extremist organs the *Kesari* occupies the foremost place. It carried on throughout the year its mischievous propaganda of fomenting anti-British feelings among the ignorant masses, and seldom missed any opportunity of assailing and traducing the measures and policy of Government. Again and again it dilated on "the selfish aims" of the British rulers, the impossibility [93] of Indians acquiring any substantial rights from

them, the "huge and constant drain" of the country's wealth to Great Britain, the unsympathetic attitude of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy towards the political aspirations of the people, the slow and steady "Russianisation" of the administration, etc. Its remarks on the Punjab deportations and on the disturbances in Eastern Bengal were characterised by extreme virulence and vituperation. In the course of a series of articles on Russian methods of agitation, it tried to trace the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia and drew from it the moral that popular agitation for increased political rights, when once seriously set on foot, can never be repressed by autocratic measures and that it is bound to end in victory to the people's cause. While commenting on the alleged repressive policy of Government, it frequently warned the authorities that persistence in such a policy on their part would inevitably drive the people "to adopt Russian methods of agitation." "Once a people make up their minds to obtain self-government", it remarked, "nothing in the world will make them turn aside from their purpose." In another article it twitted the English for "having developed Russian instincts of autocracy in India" and exhorted the people "to adopt Russian methods of agitation in fighting with their rulers." It also asked them to remember that "the torch of liberty when once lighted is never extinguished." It referred to "the Russian political exiles in other lands, who managed to flood the country with inflammable literature," and alluded to "the class of insidious writers in Russia, who successfully evaded the censors" and fearlessly preached their revolutionary propaganda to an extensive circle of readers. It repeated many a time its deep conviction that Mr. Morley, in spite of his Liberalism, would confer no political boons upon the people of India. It welcomed the "oppression" of the people by their rulers, as calculated to produce a bond of union and the feeling of a common nationality among them. It felt confident that there was a limit to such oppression, and that in the fulness of time the "Almighty would endow even the timid with strength and make justice and liberty triumph in the end." Seizing the [94] occasion of the celebration of Garibaldi's centenary it went into raptures over his memorable services to his motherland and drew a dark picture of Italy's degraded condition under the Austrian yoke. Garibaldi's career, it remarked, had many lessons to convey to Indians. The paper specially applauded "his spirit of adventure and self-sacrifice" as worthy of emu-

lation by Indians if they aspired to bring about the regeneration of their motherland. The removal of the Gold Standard Reserve to England was characterised by it as a "fraud" and as "a flagrant instance of legalised pillage." In approving of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal's refusal to give evidence in the *Bande Mataram* case, it made a sneering reference to the "wolf-like" justice of the British Government. It frequently dilated on the virtues of the ideal of *Swaraj*, and on the potency of *swadeshi*, boycott, national education and passive resistance for the realisation of that ideal.

"The *Mahratta* echoed faithfully the sentiments of the *Kesari*, though in a somewhat guarded and moderate tone. It denounced British rule as essentially selfish, and occasionally reproduced incendiary articles from foreign papers like the *Gaelic American* and the *Indian Sociologist*. It pinned its faith on the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland and wished Indians to adopt it for the regeneration of India. It also exhorted them to show "more spirit and nerve" in their struggle with Government, and assured them that if it was carried on with full determination on their side, it was sure to end in the defeat of Government."

The *Kesari* continued to pursue the same course in 1908, and on May 12th an article appeared entitled "The Country's Misfortune" on the subject of the recent bomb outrage at Muzaffarpore. A prosecution was ordered in respect of this article and Tilak was arrested in Bombay on June 24th. Meantime, on the 9th of June, another objectionable article had appeared in the *Kesari* entitled "These remedies are not lasting," and on this also a prosecution was ordered. Tilak was committed to the Criminal Sessions of the High Court of Bombay, and tried before Mr. Justice Davar, who had been counsel for the defence in the sedition case ten years before, and [95] a special jury. He was found guilty by the jury by a majority of seven to two, and sentenced on 22nd July, 1908, to three years' transportation in respect of the first article, and to three years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000 in respect of the second, the sentences to run consecutively. The six years' transportation was afterwards commuted by the Government of Bombay to simple imprisonment and the fine remitted, and Tilak was confined in the Fort in Mandalay where he was given a house to live in.

In order to appeal to the High Court of Bombay against this conviction an application was made to the Advocate-General for

the necessary certificate but it was refused, and a petition to the High Court itself for leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council on the ground of irregularities in procedure was dismissed. Tilak then petitioned for special leave to appeal, and the petition was heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on 3rd March, 1909. Without calling upon counsel for the Indian Government the Lord Chancellor intimated that their Lordship were unable to advise His Majesty that leave to appeal should be given.

During Tilak's trial there was a good deal of excitement in Bombay. On June 29th a disturbance took place outside the magistrate's court in which police officer, three soldiers and three Europeans were injured by stones thrown by the crowd. Again on July 17th, during the week in which the case was before the High Court, a number of mill-hands created a riot in the city. Anonymous placards were found posted up informing the mill-hands that it was on their account that Tilak was being prosecuted, and for practically a whole week after his conviction the city and suburbs were in a very disturbed state. The shops in the city were closed on the 23rd and remained closed for several days, partly owing to the persuasion of Tilak's partisans, partly to the fear that serious disturbances would take place, and also to a considerable extent to a desire to show sympathy with Tilak whose conviction was very widely disapproved by many besides his immediate followers. It was found necessary to fire on the rioters, both in the mill districts and [96] in the streets of the city, on several occasions between July 23rd and 27th, 15 of the rioters being killed and over 30 wounded.

The article on "The Country's Misfortune" which appeared on May 12th, 1908, is a long one; it begins by expressing sorrow that, by the appearance of the bomb, India has been reduced to the condition of Russia. The writer goes on, "We did not think that the political situation in India would so soon reach that stage, that the obstinacy and perversity of the white bureaucracy of our country would so soon inspire with utter disappointment the younger generation solicitous for the advancement of their country, and impel them to the path of rebellion. But the dispensations of God are inscrutable. It does not appear from the statements of those who were arrested in connection with the bomb outrage at Muzaffarpore that the bomb was thrown through hatred for some individual, or that it was the deed of some criminal lunatic. Even Khudiram, the thrower of the bomb, feels sorry that two innocent ladies of Mr. Kennedy's family fell victims in place of Mr. Kingsford." After referring to the establishment of secret societies in Calcutta the writer

continues, "The young Bengali gentlemen who perpetrated these terrible things do not belong to the class of thieves or budmashes; had that been so they would not have made these frank statements to the Police. Now though the secret society of these Bengali youths may have been formed on the model of the societies of Russian rebels for the secret assassination of the authorities, it appears plainly from the statements that it was not formed for the sake of self-interest, but owing to the exasperation produced by the autocratic exercise of power by the unrestrained and powerful white bureaucrats. It is known to all that the mutinies and revolts of nihilists that frequently occur in Russia take place for this very object, and from this point of view one is compelled to say that the same state of things which has been brought about in Russia by the oppression practised by the *swadeshi* officers of that country, has now been inaugurated in India in consequence of the oppression practised by alien officers. There is no one who is not aware that the might of the British Government is as great and as unlimited as that of the Russian Government. But rulers who exercise unrestricted power must always remember that there is a limit to the patience of humanity. Since the Partition of Bengal the minds of the Bengalis have become exasperated and all their efforts to get the partition cancelled by lawful means have proved fruitless; it is known to the world that even *Pandit* Morley, now Lord Morley, has given a flat refusal. In such circumstances no one in the world except the white bureaucrats, inebriated with the insolence of authority, could suppose that not even a very few of the people of Bengal would lose their balance and feel inclined to commit excesses. Experience shows that even a cat shut up in a house violently attacks the person who confines it there and tries to kill him. The [97] Bengalis, however powerless they may be considered to be, are human beings, and should not the bureaucracy remember that, like those of other men, the feelings of the Bengalis are liable to become fierce or mild as occasion demands. It is true that, India having now been for many years under the sway of alien rulers, the fire, spirit and vehemence natural to Indians have to a great extent cooled down; but in any circumstances this vehemence or indignation cannot descend to zero and freeze altogether. Old and experienced leaders can, so far as they themselves are concerned, keep this indignation permanently within prescribed bounds with the help of their experience and mature thought, but it is impossible for all the people of the country thus to keep their feelings of indignation or irritability always within these bounds; perhaps it may even be said without hesitation that the inhabitants of any country in which it is possible for feelings of indignation to remain always within prescribed bounds are destined to remain perpetually in slavery.

"The experience gained from history, the growth of democratic public opinion in England, and the awakening caused throughout the whole continent of Asia by the rise of an Oriental Nation like Japan, have come in the way of the tyrannical policy of our white bureaucrats and imposed some restrictions on their autocratic sway; still the desire of

the people to obtain the right of *swarajya* is growing stronger, and if they do not get rights gradually as desired by them some people at least out of the subject population, being tilled with indignation or exasperation, will not fail recklessly to embark upon the commission of iniquitous or horrible deeds. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale himself, in the course of one of his speeches in the Supreme Legislative Council, gave a warning of this very kind to our Government in the presence of His Excellency the Viceroy, and when Lala Lajpatrai was deported without trial and the ordinance about the prevention of meetings was promulgated, other native editors of newspapers also, like ourselves, plainly gave the Government to understand that if they resorted in the above manner to oppressive Russian methods of administration then Indian subjects, too, would be compelled to imitate, partially at least, the methods of the Russian people." "It is now plain that not only has the system of Government in India become unpopular, but also that their frequent prayers for the reform of the system having been refused, even some educated people, forgetting themselves in the heat of indignation, have begun to embark upon the perpetration of horrible deeds. Men of equal temperament and of reason in the nation will not approve of such violence; nay, there is even a possibility that, in consequence of such violence, increased oppression will be practised upon the people for some time to come instead of its being stopped. But a glance at the modern history of Russia will show that such excesses or acts of violence are not stopped by subjecting the people to increased oppression. It is true that in order to obtain political rights efforts must be made for generations together, and that those efforts, [98] moreover, should be made peacefully, persistently and constitutionally. But while such efforts are being made who will guarantee that no person will get out of control. And as such a guarantee cannot be given how can it be reasonable to say that all persons who put forth efforts to acquire political rights are seditious. Just as it is difficult to lay down a restriction that not even a tear or two shall fall from the eyes of a man whose heart is deeply afflicted by sorrow, in the same manner it is vain to expect that the unrestricted method of administration, under which the country is being ruled in a high-handed and reckless manner, should become only so far unbearable to the people that no one should become unduly exasperated and resort to excesses on that account." "True statesmanship consists in not allowing these things to reach such an extreme or critical stage; and this is the very policy we are at present suggesting to Government on this occasion with a candid mind in a plain manner. We do not think that we have done the whole of our duty as subjects by humbly informing the Government that the tragedy that occurred at Muzaffarpore was horrible and that we vehemently condemn or repudiate it.

"All heartily desire that such iniquitous deeds should not come to pass, and that no one amongst the people should have occasion to resort to such extremes. But at such a time it must also be considered how far the ruling bureaucracy should disregard the desires of the people and try their patience to the uttermost; otherwise it will not be possible to maintain cordial relations between rulers and the ruled and to carry

on smoothly the business of either. We have already said above that the Muzaffarpore affair was not proper and that it was regrettable. But if the causes which gave rise to it continue in future exactly as they are at present, then in our opinion it is not possible that such terrible occurrences will stop altogether, and therefore we have on this occasion suggested to Government the measures that should be adopted to put a stop to such undesirable occurrences. The time has through our misfortune arrived, when the party of Nihilists, like that which has arisen in Russia, Germany, France and other countries will now rise here. To avoid this contingency, to prevent the growth of this poisonous tree is altogether in the hands of Government. These abscesses affecting the country will never be permanently got rid of by oppression or by force. Reform of the administration is the only medicine to be administered internally for this disease, and if the bureaucracy does not make use of that medicine at this time then it must be considered a great misfortune to all of us."

While in the course of this article Tilak more than once expressed disapproval of bomb-throwing as a means to secure independence, in the article of June 9th he pointed out the results of bomb throwing by the people of other countries when they wanted certain rights, and explained that the preparation of bombs did not require a factory but only a few chemicals, and that the people could make them very easily. The British Government was a curse to the [99] country, and if it went on as it was doing and did not give the people the rights they asked for, they would resort to bomb-throwing like the people of Portugal and Russia.

It will be observed that these articles could be read in two ways, either as a discussion of a purely hypothetical question, or as an encouragement to those who disapproved of the system of Government to go on using bombs till it was changed. Another article which appeared on June 2nd, and was put in as evidence of intention, was rather more specific. Comparing the bomb outrage at Muzaffarpore with the Poona murders of 1897 (see page 20) the writer says, "If daring and skill in execution are to be considered the Chapekar brothers must be accorded the palm over the bomb-throwers in Bengal, but from the point of view of the motive and the means used the latter deserve the greater praise. These murders, however, must be differentiated from ordinary ones in as much as they were not committed out of personal hatred, but under the impression that a public service was being rendered thereby. The Chapekar brothers had only the oppression resulting from the plague operations at Poona in view; they had not before them the larger question that the system of administration was faulty, and that there was no hope that the bureaucracy would consent to change it unless individual members of it were subjected to threats."

The *Mahratta* has always escaped a prosecution under the Indian Penal Code, and the actual editor N. C. Kelkar, B.A. LL.B, is believed to be more moderate in his political views than his chief. Immediately after Tilak's conviction, however, he published in the issue dated 26th July, 1908, an article on the case

containing a violent attack on the presiding judge, Mr. Justice Davar. Proceedings were taken by the High Court of Bombay, and he was found guilty of contempt on 29th September, 1908, and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000 and to be imprisoned for 14 days or longer until he apologised. This put him in a very awkward position and he apologised and was duly released on the 14th day. For what they called his want of firmness in the matter Kelkar was condemned by the Poona extremists; he was given leave as editor of the *Mahratta*, but afterwards permitted to return to duty in due course.

THE KAL

This paper was published weekly in Poona in Marathi, and edited by a Maratha Brahmin named Shivram Mahadev Paranjpe, M.A. It was started in 1898, the year after the Poona murders, and its tone was so bad [100] that the editor was warned in 1899. The question of prosecuting him was considered in respect of various articles which appeared in 1899, 1900, 1904, 1905 (two occasions) and 1907 (three occasions) but each time the matter was dropped, sometimes because the law officers were doubtful, twice (in 1905) because the Government of India refused to sanction the prosecution, and once (1907) because the Government of Bombay were able to show that the proposal of the Government of India to prosecute was inexpedient. Paranjpe therefore had a long run for his money, but in June, 1908, a prosecution was instituted in respect of an article published on May 15th. The editor was convicted in the Bombay High Court on the 8th of July, 1908, and sentenced to 19 months' rigorous imprisonment.

The paper continued to appear and showed no improvement in tone, and in January, 1909, the new editor Purushottam Bapuji Khare, B.A., was prosecuted for an article published on 18th December, 1908. In February, 1909, he was convicted of sedition by the District Magistrate of Poona and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment, and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or three months in default. The paper eventually came to an end in 1910 through the operation of the Press Act. The following are translations of selected passages.

28th February, 1908.

The London correspondent of the *Kal* writes: "The murders in Portugal were due to the Dictatorship established in defiance of constitutional Government. They portray struggle between truth and falsehood. We are glad that ignorance is receding before light. Let kings cry out or parasites moan, the time has gone by when the people would meekly bend their necks to the royal mandate. The discomfiture of the Crown in Portugal has infused fresh vigour into the popular party all over the world, and recent events tend to show that the murders have had a salutary effect in the country where they took place. But, India, what about you?"

15th May, 1908.

In the course of the article which was the subject of the first prosecution the writer says.—

"Why did Government reward so hastily the Police officers who arrested the accused implicated in the bomb outrages? The alleged offenders have yet to be arraigned and convicted before proper [101] tribunals. More confessions, which are often made to escape Police torture, do not constitute conclusive evidence against the accused. What then can be secret motive of this precipitate waste of public funds? Again, why are the European officers excluded and only natives rewarded? Is it not perhaps with a view to encouraging treachery in regard to the unravelling of the still hidden details of the conspiracy? In other countries treachery is punished, but in India it is rewarded! The particular form of Government existing in India is perhaps responsible for this difference. Government should be careful how far to trust the meetings that are being held at various places to express indignation at the bomb outrage. We do not think the public at large is much on the side of Government, as only four such meetings have been held during the last fortnight. These public meetings are not worth a straw if they are engineered by Government officials. Even the Muzaffarpore meeting was held ten days after the outrage under the presidency of the Maharaja of Darbhanga. These Maharajas being mere puppets in the hands of Government, the importance of the meeting in the eyes of the people may be easily gauged. The Poona and the Behar Mahomedans have also expressed their indignation at the outrage; but Mahomedans are accustomed to express lip-sympathy towards Englishmen in order to gain their own ends.

"People desire to get their rights. If these cannot be had by straightforward means, they are prepared to secure them by crooked devices. If the English do not conciliate the people by granting them *swarajya*, there will soon be a trial of strength. People are prepared to do anything for the sake of *swarajya* and they no longer sing the glories of British rule. They have no dread of British power. It is simply a question of sheer brute force. Bomb-throwing in India is different from bomb-throwing in Russia. Many of the Russians side with their Government against the bomb-throwers, but it is doubtful whether such sympathisers will be found in India. If, even in such circumstances, Russia

got the Duma, *a fortiori* India is bound to get *swarajya*. It is quite unjustifiable to call the bomb-throwers in India anarchists. They do not desire that India should have no Government whatsoever. They do not advocate misrule. They merely want *swarajya*. Setting aside the question whether bomb-throwing is justifiable or not, Indians are not trying to promote disorder, but to obtain *swarajya*."

18th December, 1908.

In the course of the leading article cited in the second prosecution the writer says :—

"The English schemed to conquer India and succeeded in their attempts. The question of consolidating their conquests next stared them in the face and they were equal to the occasion. The Secretary of State for India appoints now-a-days fourth-rate Englishmen to the highest posts in the land, and they, too, are mere birds of passage. The people of India have now begun seriously [102] to doubt whether the English desire to continue to rule over India at all. Otherwise it is difficult to account for all the absurd and reckless deeds committed by them recently in India. The cup of their sins is not only full but it is brimming over. We cannot help saying that the bureaucrats now in power are a set of dunces in politics. They do not care to ascertain the causes of discontent, but are prompt to advocate every measure of repression, and seem to be bent upon throttling every agitation started by the Indians. The English are by nature a kindly race. But their hands seem to be forced by circumstances. Apart from the isolated murders of individual Englishmen, the *Yugantar*, emerging at fitful intervals from its grave, indiscriminately howled for a general massacre of all European foreigners. The aims and objects of the Maniktolla conspirators were to subvert British rule. Their *modus operandi* was to murder Europeans and Native officers and adverse witnesses and to commit dacoities to fill their war-chest. The Bengalees met in the temple of Kali and in front of her image tossed for the person who was to bomb the next victim. A lad of eighteen attacked Sir Andrew Fraser fearlessly in an open meeting. What will not youths, whose hearts are of stone and whose minds have become perverted, do? Government can pass whatever laws it wills. The only justification is that they are masters of the situation. Bosanquet says :—"Laws, strictly speaking, are only the conditions of civil association. The people which submits to the laws should be their author." When have the people of India given their consent to obey the laws passed by Englishmen? It is quite plain from all this how Englishmen pass laws and why Indians are found to break them. These are not laws, but mockeries of law."

THE VIHARI

This paper, the title of which means "The Rambler," was published weekly in Bombay in the Marathi language, the first editor being a Brahmin named Balkrishna Narayan Phatak. It is of some interest to note that V. D. Savarkar, who became so prominent as a revolutionary leader in London, was a sub-editor

of this paper before his departure for England; a review, by this paper, of his book on Mazzini is quoted below. Throughout 1906 the tone of the *Vihari* was very bad and the editor was bound over on 27th February, 1907, in a sum of Rs. 1,000, with two sureties, to be of good behaviour for six months. The next editor, Bhaskar Vishnu Phadke, went even further than his predecessor, and the *Vihari* shared with other similar newspapers in a solemn warning addressed to the Bombay press by the Local Government in June, 1907. The warning was not taken, [103] and Phadke was prosecuted in October in respect of articles published on the 26th of August and the 16th of September, 1907. He was convicted on the 20th of November, and sentenced to two years' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 300 or three months in default.

A third editor was found, named Ramchandra Narayan Mandlik, who continued to conduct the paper on the same lines. He was prosecuted for a poem which appeared on April 13th, 1908, and convicted on the 23rd of June and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or six months in default. He appealed to the High Court of Bombay, and his appeal was dismissed on the 8th of August.

16th July, 1906.

The following is the purport of verses headed "Goddess of Independence," which appeared in this issue "Let us contemplate the Goddess of Independence, and go to the battlefield to propitiate the Goddess of War. Let us delight her with the auspicious bath of the blood of enemies and lovingly offer her a garland of their skulls. Let us kindle the light produced by the clash of weapons and make the world resound with the heroism of Indians of the present day and make her an offering of our souls."

28th January, 1907.

The article on which the editor was bound over was headed "what country is a hell on earth?—The empire of the Feringhis," and included the following passages :—"Let selfish and hypocritical persons like Sir Syed Ahmed, Dr. Bhandarkar and Rao Bahadur Agashe, who are under obligations to Government for either their titles or their posts, extol to the skies the goodness, humanity and justice of the English and pray to God for the perpetuation of British rule, but one who is truly conversant with the British administration will not find a more significant word than "hell" to apply to the British Empire. Irish journals have long been comparing the British Empire to hell, but some English journals, too, which have acquired the habit of speaking the truth, have begun to apply the same significant term to that Empire. The English have in point of tyranny outdone all the cruel and despotic rulers the world has

ever known. These Feringhi Neroes have put to shame the most cruel of men like Nadirshah and Tamerlane. Cruelty, inhumanity and baseness such as theirs cannot be paralled elsewhere. Macaulay has characterised the rule of the Neroes in the service of the East Indian Company as satanic. But that word does not now suffice, as the English have now surpassed even Satan himself." [104]

17th June, 1907.

A review of the "Autobiography of Joseph Mazzini," recently translated into Marathi by V. D. Savarkar, contains the following :—

"In the beginning of the 19th century Italy was groaning under an oppressive alien rule in much the same way as Maharashtra was groaning under the tyranny of the Moghuls prior to its deliverance from the Moslem yoke by Shivaji and Ramdas. Mazzini was the Shivaji while Garibaldi was the Ramdas of Italy. If an oppressed and downtrodden nation earnestly implores Providence for deliverance, He is sure to send saviours to rescue it from tyranny. The study of Mazzini's autobiography is useful to those who are anxious to regain their independence and to be rid of foreign rule. The Austrain rule in Italy in Mazzini's time closely resembled British rule in India to-day. The same repressive measures which we find the British Government adopting at the present day to nip the spirit of independence in the bud were adopted by the Austrians in Italy in the time of Mazzini. In short Italy was three-quarters of a century ago in the same state in which India finds herself to-day, and we recommend our readers to read and digest the contents of Mr. Savarkar's book as it discusses the same problems and difficulties with which Indians are now confronted, and which happen seriously to exercise their minds. We congratulate Mr. Savarkar upon bringing out his book just at the proper time. Those who read it will gather from it the same impression as is produced by a perusal of Ramdas's Dasbodh." . . . "The perusal of the book will also reveal to its readers the great potentiality of secret societies when freedom of speech and writing are seriously restricted by the Penal Codes of Governments. History shows that secret societies have done a world of good to people struggling towards their independence. We recommend parents and guardians to place Mr. Savarkar's book in the hands of their wards as it is likely to make them spirited and patriotic."

26th August, 1907.

In an article on "The true meaning of sedition," for which the editor was prosecuted, included the following :—"Our selfish rulers will urge that Indian rebels are trying to subvert the British Government rather than that Indian patriots are trying to regain possession of their own country. Government put a veil of legality over their savagery in stamping out the agitation for *swarajya* by declaring Indian patriots to be seditious. It is very gratifying to note that sedition is spreading in India. Even people in remote villages are disgusted with the benevolent despotism of the British and are impatient for *swarajya*. The tyrannical measures of Government are increasing this impatience. Through fear of the Penal Code people may pray to God to grant them *swarajya* and

independence instead of asking Him to destroy British rule in India; but both mean one and the same thing. Government know as well as ourselves that we do not acquire independence by merely desiring it. But if the desire grows strong in the hearts of 30 crores of people, if there arises a Ramdas to exhort them to reconquer their country [105] by striking a blow for independence and if there arises a Shivaji to act upon this advice, India will in no time be able to achieve independence. Government are, therefore, anxious to crush the desire of independence and make the appearance of men like Ramdas and Shivaji impossible among us. Ye ardent patriots of new India, the night of slavery is over. The sun of independence is dawning. Offer resistance to injustice and tyranny by your deeds. All independent nations are ready to welcome you. Gird up your loins to acquire your birth-right of independence. The *Bhawani* of Maharaj (Shivaji) will tell you what to do next. Fall at her feet. You need not then be doubtful of achieving victory. 'Victory to the Goddess of Independence!' *Bande Mataram!*"

13th April, 1908.

The poem in this issue on account of which the editor was convicted was headed by the explanation, "Herein is embodied the exhortation by means of which Mazzini roused Italy," and was to the following effect:—

"Awake, O Fools! Why are you sleeping? Open your eyes for a moment and see who is sitting on your chests. Is not this load unbearable? How can he who puts up with dishonour and foolishly nourishes even his enemies be called a man? He should certainly be ranked with the beasts. Why do you submit to such persecution? Take courage. This land of ours is like our mother; how can you calmly witness her persecution? Your motherland, who gives you nourishment, has fainted; how can you be forgetful of her plight? Fie upon you, brutes! You are a disgrace to your forefathers, who won renown by their prowess. A cruel ruler is governing you; why do you submit to his authority? Why did you lose your independence? How is it that you do not chafe under restraint? When God created the universe, he created all persons free. When freedom which is man's birth-right is lost how can you remain quiet? You should die on the battlefield for the sake of independence."

THE BHALA

This Marathi paper, the title of which means "The Spear," was edited by a Maratha Brahmin named Bhaskar Balwant Bhopatkar, B.A., LL.B., and published in Poonia three times a month. An article which appeared in it on the 11th October, 1905, was the subject of the first of the long series of press prosecutions which have had to be undertaken in recent years, and has therefore an interest of its own. It was called "A durbar in Hell," and at the top of the article there was a stanza from Ramdas, the poet of Shivaji's time, which reads, "We should die for our

religion ; in drying we should kill others, and by killing we should regain our kingdom." [106] The writer described how the King of the Infernal Regions, as he was getting old, held a Durbar in order to choose his successor, declaring that he would select the one who had attained, pre-eminence in cruelty and heartlessness. After some others had stated their claims the writer says :—

"A more powerful claimant rose to address the infernal conclave. His outward appearance did not bespeak a cruel heart. He had a pleasant and fair complexion; he wore trousers and a coat, and had a turban shaped like a broad basin on his head. He asserted that he had carried the civilised methods of oppression referred to by the last speaker to perfection. He had entered foreign countries under the guise of commerce, and by inciting internecine quarrels had managed to usurp political power. He had forged documents, and by starving and maltreating native rulers he had robbed them of their wealth. He eventually became their sovereign and deprived them of their liberty. He had sent away their wealth to his distant native land, and even taxed their salt. He had induced them by means of bribes to turn traitors to their country, and had deprived them of their arms although they were thereby exposed to the danger of being devoured by wild beasts. He had hanged many of them and maltreated their widows and children. He had destroyed their sacred kine and paraded himself in gorgeous Durbars. He had given a new turn to their education in order to cure their foible of patriotism. He had turned them into beasts of burden, beggared them and trodden them under foot. In short, he had destroyed their lives, their wealth, their homes, their religion, their honour and their liberty. Could there exist, he asked, any more civilised mode of oppression? The King of Hell was much pleased with the words of this speaker. He rose and embraced him and duly declared him to be his rightful successor."

Bhopatkar was convicted on 13th February, 1906, and sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or an additional six months' imprisonment in default.

THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST

The *Indian Sociologist* was started in London by Shyamaji Krishnavarma (see page 170) in January, 1905, and appeared regularly every month till July, 1914. Its tone was so bad that its importation into India was prohibited by a Notification under the Sea Customs Act, dated 19th September, 1907, but copies continued to be sent to India in covers which were changed from time to time as to escape detection in the Post Office. On [107] this subject the editor remarked in the issue for February 1908 :—

"In a sense it is a compliment to us, as it recognises the force of our propaganda, which is thus officially given the advertise-

ment never intended by Mr. Morley as explained by him in the House of Commons in July last. We go on as usual, and in spite of all opposition and prohibitions the *Indian Sociologist* will continue to go to India."

The following are extracts from the issues published under the dates given :—

December, 1907.

"It seems that any agitation in India now must be carried on secretly, and that the only methods which can bring the English Government to its senses are the Russian methods vigorously and incessantly applied until the English relax their tyranny and are driven out of the country. No one can foresee what rule will be laid down or line of action defined for any particular course. That will probably depend on local conditions and circumstances, but it is likely that as a general principle the Russian method will begin with Indian officials rather than with European".

February, 1908.

"Mr Swinny dwells on the hopelessness of rebellion, and to judge from his use of the word "happily" he seems to gloat over "the overwhelming military force of the constituted authorities," but he must remember that the major part of the military force is made up of Indians, and if they once see the enormity of their folly and no longer allow themselves to be tools in the hands of the cunning despotism which uses them to maintain their subjection and that of their countrymen, British rule in India will end speedily and ignominiously.

April, 1908.

"To judge from the brutal murders of unarmed innocent Indians who recently assembled at Tinnevely to express their joy at the release of Bepin Chandra Pal from jail and who were butchered at the instance of the British Government, the safest plan for Indians would seem to be to organise secret and determined and combined disaffection, as suggested by a European friend."

August, 1908.

"As to the ethics of dynamite, it may be laid down in a general way that where the people have political power there is no need for the use of explosives. It only promotes reaction. But where the [108] people are utterly defenceless, both politically and militarily, then one may look on the bomb or any other weapon as legitimate. Its employment then becomes merely a question of expediency. We hope to discuss this question, particularly with reference to India, in an early issue of the *Indian Sociologist*."

December, 1908.

INDIAN MARTYRS' MEMORIAL

"The four young Indians who have been done to death, three of them having been hanged, by the British Government for attempting to

promote their country's cause by braving all risks present instances of absolute unselfishness and thus offer an object lesson to their fellow-countrymen. Their deed which the enemies of India have called "crime" must be regarded as "patriotism" and "virtue" by all Indians who really love their country, and we think that some sort of Indian Martyrs Memorial should be raised out of respect to their memory. We offer for this purpose the sum of Rs. 5,000 and propose that a part of this donation should be placed at the disposal of their parents, as a token of gratitude, for such uses as they may deem best and that the balance should be spent in scholarships for the education and training of four young Indians who, regardless of any personal gain, may be willing to devote all their time and energy for the regeneration of their country. The proposed scholarships shall bear the names of the four martyrs, viz., Profulla Chaki, Khudiram Bose, Kanailal Dutt and Satyendra Nath Bose. We further propose that some monument should be erected at "India House" 65, Cromwell Avenue, Highgate, London, N., which may take the form of a tablet giving a succinct account of their deeds of daring and self-devotion.

July, 1909.

"At the risk of alienating the sympathies and good opinion of almost all our old friends and acquaintances in England and some of our past helpmates in India, we repeat that political assassination is not murder. * * * It is thus clear that both International Law and Ethics support our contention with regard to the right and duty of individuals or nations to use force for obtaining freedom in general and for liberating themselves from oppressive alien rule in particular, it being quite immaterial in what form that force is employed."

August, 1909.

This number was printed and published for the proprietor by Guy A. Aldred, of the Bakunin Press, at 35, Stanlake Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, W. It contained eight pages instead of the usual four, the additional four pages being devoted to two articles written by the printer and headed "Passing Reflections" and "Sedition". In the former the following passage occurs:—"Were Krishnavarma to come to London he would be arrested for [109] sedition. This paper is suppressed in India; it is prosecuted at home. I am not identified with his propaganda and do not share his ideals. I have undertaken the printing and publication of his paper in defence of a free press. In the event of my being prosecuted to conviction for sedition, the Bakunin Press will continue to print and to issue the *Indian Sociologist* until that freedom is secured. Volunteers are wanted to assist in that fight. Those who are for solidarity are asked to communicate with the Secretary at 35, Stanlake Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, W."

A warrant was issued on August 25th in connection with the printing of this issue of the *Indian Sociologist* and Aldred was arrested the same evening. He was found to be occupying two rooms in a private house and there was a piece of paper on the doorway bearing the name "Bakunin Press." There was no press on the premises, and when questioned as to the actual printing he said he could not say anything

about that; he could not give other people away. He was convicted on September 10th of publishing a scandalous and seditious libel and sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the first division.

September, 1909.

This number was dated from Paris, and described as printed at L'Imprimerie Speciale du "The Indian Sociologist," by Georges Pagnier, 25, Boulevard Magenta, Paris.

In this number the editor quotes with approval the proposals of a Mr. S. Swami that a powerful revolutionary journal for India should be started which should contain articles explaining among other things :

How to work among the Indian soldiery with a view to drive a section of them at any rate into the revolution when it breaks out.
How to arm the mighty Indian people and make them play the role of a nation in arms.

How to manufacture arms, ammunition, hand-grenades, and high explosives for conducting scientific warfare. This can be achieved considerably by systematically publishing elaborate illustrated notes from standard works on the practical manufacture of arms and explosives. A brochure on this subject, specially printed on thin paper as a purely scientific treatise, is sorely needed in India at this moment.

The proposed journal should also explain how to impart to the young men some knowledge of guerilla warfare, and how to reduce the anti-foreign feeling which now prevails in India into a purely anti-Government feeling.

January, 1910.

"On the 21st of December last at about 5 p.m. we wrote a letter to a near relation of Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar, stating that [110] we had learnt with great sorrow that on appeal the sentence of transportation for life passed in his case for attempting to wage war against the Mleccha king had been confirmed by the Bombay High Court, one of the two judges of which was an Indian traitor and whose order about the forfeiture of all his property was simply barbarous. * * * The next day, i.e., on December 22nd we were surprised to see a telegram in an English newspaper to the effect that Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, Collector of Nasik, had been shot dead at a quarter to 10 o'clock on the previous evening by Anant Laxman Kanare, who stated that he had resolved to avenge the sentence of transportation for life passed in June last on Ganesh Damodar Savarkar for sedition. It will thus be seen that allowing for the difference in the longitudes of Paris and Nasik the time of our writing to sympathise with the members of the family of Mr. Savarkar synchronized almost to a minute with that of the assassination avenging the sentence of transportation passed on him. There is a sort 'poetic justice' in all this which will, we doubt not, strike the imagination of our readers."

November, 1910.

In this number the editor remarks that about two years ago he quoted from the *London Times* as follows, "We have won India by the sword, and in the last resort we hold it by the sword" and contrasts with this

a recent passage in the same newspaper, "We shall never hold India permanently by the Indian Army alone. We cannot cow these swarming millions into perpetual subjection." He proceeds to discuss the reason for this change and says "In the first place, the assassinations of certain Anglo-Indian officials and others connected with the alien despotism had not then taken place; secondly the bombs and political dacoities had not created a feeling of insecurity of life and property amongst the hangers-on of the iniquitous British Government in India. * * * The change in the attitude of the *Times*, and of those whose mouthpiece it is, is evidently due to the terror inspired by the Indian propagandists and the physical force party, with whose implacable hostility, it admits, the English will probably always have to reckon." He supports this and concludes with the following expression of his own opinions, "We think that if a little terrorism in the shape of political assassination and other demonstrations of physical force have caused such a marked change of public opinion in the enemy's camp, a systematic reign of terror, in the absence of the ability to make an armed resistance, will best achieve for enslaved India the freedom which is the birth-right of its people."

February, 1911.

"Has anyone ever heard in England of a servant being deliberately killed by a master and the latter getting off scot free for his offence? There can be only one answer to the question, and that in the negative. The murderer would most surely in such a case suffer the extreme penalty of the law. But remove the scene to India, with an Anglo-Indian master and an Indian servant, and the [111] whole situation is changed immediately with the result that the Indian servant may be butchered by his English employer practically with impunity, while the Anglo-Indian courts of injustice actually in a way condone the offence by inflicting some merely nominal punishment, such as a trifling fine or at the most a few months' imprisonment which, according to the Indian prison rules, is always of a very mild character where Europeans are concerned."

March, 1911.

This number was printed by G. Hoube and R. Dunning, 23, rue Poissonniere, Paris. The following note appears on the last page :—"One of the results of the recent proceedings instituted in the English law-courts against Mr. Mylius has been to oblige us once more to change our printers. The persistent persecution to which our political enemies have subjected us has entailed no fewer than seven transfers in less than seven years as regards the printing of the *Indian Sociologist*. Our opponents may, however, rest assured that nothing they can do to harrass us will have the slightest effect in retarding the progress of our propaganda, a proof of which is the appearance of this March issue at its proper time."

February, 1912.

In this number the editor refers to a pamphlet by Sir W. W. Strickland called "The extinction of mankind," and quotes from it at some length. The following will serve as a sample :—"No wonder humane and justice-loving Dutch and Germans on their return from Asia repeat

with smothered indignation the now familiar commonplace "The English desire that the Hindus should die out in their own country? What waves of Christian thankfulness welled up in hundreds of thousands of grateful Anglo-Christian hearts only two or three years ago (1907) when the success of the introduction of plague from Hong Kong, co-ordinated with taxation ranging from 50 per cent to 90 per cent on net produce, was realised among the Anglo-Saxon settlers in India! I shall not easily forget the howl of delighted English mercy and loving kindness: "Thank Heavens! 100,000 niggers dead of plague in a single week!" Nor is the game of massacre by plague by any means at a standstill. This shout of Anglo-Saxon triumph echoed away four years ago over devastated rice-fields, but the Hindus are still dying of plague alone at the rate of 42,000 a week!"

October, 1912.

"The world is ignorant of the plunder of India and of the slaughter of her sons, because the plunder and slaughter are carried on systematically and scientifically and because the world does not investigate. The facts, were they published, would be much more frightful and staggering than the Putumayo or Congo atrocities. It would be a revelation to the civilised world, and countries that are now indifferent would quickly lose their apathy and demand just reparation of England." * * * "Over-taxation causes [112] poverty and poverty causes crime and crime leads to the gallows. Poverty, too, causes famine and hunger, and famine leads to the grave. Poverty is the cause of insanitation and diseases, and disease ploughs through whole districts like an evil spirit cutting short millions of lives. But the worst disease of all, plague, is introduced. This disease quickly spreads amongst the poorest classes, those who are dying of starvation and whose surroundings are insanitary. It blazes furiously like a prairie fire through the whole country leaving death and ruin behind, and everything that was beautiful before its introduction is barren and desolate after it has passed." * * * "On first entering the country the English treated the natives no better than the natives of the Putumayo have been lately treated; but their methods are now almost scientific and they are slay millions (as indeed they do) without firing a shot or unsheathing a sword, by this refined up-to-date method. This system of wholesale extermination carried on daily in India is more revolting than any incident that history has yet recorded. Sir Walter Strickland who has travelled much in the East, points out in his "Extinction of Mankind" that the object of England in making the death roll so alarmingly high is the extermination of the Hindus, a race that is physically and mentally superior to the English."

November, 1912.

"The loyalty of the Sikhs was one of the main causes of the failure of the Mutiny. Another rebellion would be just as futile as long as any considerable section of the native troops remains loyal. Enlistment must be discountenanced by all Indian patriots, thus shall the number of native soldiers diminish year by year. If they could be altogether detached from the enemy, India's march towards freedom would be a promenade. The force thus detached from John Bull's fighting assets

would more than suffice to turn the balance of strength on the side of justice. The Indian Nationalists might consider the following suggestions as to how the unity of Indians of all creeds might be achieved, so that they could form themselves into one powerful league, with which to wrest their common rights from the despot." The principal suggestions are the two first, which are :

"(1) Prevent, whenever possible, all Indians from entering the army or police force, which like all government posts must be boycotted.

(2) Spread patriotic literature widely amongst the native soldiery, and try to convert them to become true Indians."

May, 1913.

An article headed "A Freedom-Loving Englishman's Sarcastic but true version of British Rule in India," contains what the editor calls "an amusing and instructive skit" entitled "Holy Britain's Prayer," in which the mixture of blasphemy and sedition points to the authorship of Sir Walter Strickland. The British [113] people are supposed to be making a report on India to the Almighty, which concludes as follows :—

"Instead of gratitude we have received hatred and contumely, and now, Oh Lord ! our condition is parlous. 'Precarious and not at all permanent.' Oh Lord ! Moreover, many of these firebands from hell are still at large. Dhingra, Thou Thyself hast dealt with ere this; Savarkar is safe in our holy, merciful, Christ-like keeping, but the execrable Krishnavarma is beyond our reach spreading his damnable doctrines broadcast and even contaminating some of Thy white saints themselves. Thy flock, Oh Father, is in imminent peril; danger clouds threaten to obscure the sun of our peace, for lo ! our charges no longer 'beseech' us. Their tone of utterance is now no longer plaintive but severely menacing. They speak saying :—"Too long have we begged ye (*sic*) white-livered, black-hearted, red-handed hypocrites and cut-throats to desist from spoiling our fair land, murdering and plundering our fathers and brothers, ravishing our wives, and debauching our daughters. We shall beg to ye (*sic*) no longer, but think not ye have crushed us. One day, not far distant, we shall speak to ye (*sic*) again, assuredly; but our mouths shall be iron mouths, our tongues shall be tongues of lurid flame and the message we shall deliver shall be a message of lead and steel and ye shall carry it to your anthropomorphic God in your own worthless carcasses. Be warned ? And now Oh Lord ! answer us we beseech Thee. What must we do to be saved ?"

THE BANDE MATARAM OF GENEVA

The first number of this paper, self-described as "a monthly organ of Indian Independence," is dated Geneva, September 10th, 1909, and on the front page it is stated that "all communications should be addressed to Madame Cama, Poste Restante, Geneva, Switzerland." Madame Cama was, however, living in Paris at the time. In this number the editor explained that it was proposed to continue the work initiated by the brave and wise leaders

of Bengal through the medium of the *Bande Mataram* (see page 83) which had now become impossible in India owing to the tyranny of the British Government. There were three stages to be passed through; the first of educating the people, the second war, and the third reconstruction. "These three stages of every national movement must be passed through. History cannot alter its course for India. After Mazzini, Garibaldi; after Garibaldi, Cavour. Even so it must be with us. Virtue and wisdom first, then war; finally independence."

[114] Another article was headed "Dhingra, the Immortal" and he was described as a hero whose words and deeds should be cherished by the whole world for centuries to come. The writer says—"In time to come when the British Empire in India shall have been reduced to dust and ashes, Dhingra's monument will adorn the squares of our chief towns, recalling to the memory of our children the noble life and the nobler death of him who laid down his life in a far-off land for the cause he loved so well."

February, 1910.

The following extract refers to a new paper called the *Talvar* (Sword), which purported to be published in Berlin, but was really printed in Holland and disseminated from London and Paris (see page 117). "The *Talvar* has made its appearance in Berlin, the capital of the country which is at present most hostile in spirit to England. We congratulate our comrades on their choice. The arm of the British empire cannot reach them in that haven of refuge, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the powerful German nation will be of great advantage to the cause of Indian Independence. * * * The programme of active resistance with political assassination as a prelude is advocated with splendid earnestness. There is no trace of any inclination towards compromise or hypocrisy in any of its pronouncements. We especially commend to the attention of our readers the admirable article on political assassination in the second number which deserves careful perusal."

July, 1910.

"On the first of July last year our hero-martyr Madanlal Dhingra attained to perfection of character by total renunciation of self. He proved to the world that the oppressed and down-trodden people of our country had found a champion whose hand could smite the tyrant in his pride and bring joy and hope to many a lonely and humble home made desolate by pitiless greed. He embodied in himself the wrath, indignation, self-possession and daring of modern India, and in his noble figure, defying death and scorning life, young India saw the incarnation of her highest hopes and her fondest dreams. India waits for the Kalki tenth avatar who should destroy the foreign demon."

August, 1910.

"The month of August is full of sacred memories for us. For, on the 10th of August, 1908, Khudiram Bose—the hero-martyr—passed away from this world of sin and sorrow, giving his life to lighten the burden of its misery. And on the 17th of the same month last year, Madanlal Dhingra—the young lion of the Punjab [115] followed the footsteps of the martyrs who had gone before. The calendar of new India is beginning to count its red-letter days, recalling the life and death of saints and martyrs. * * * They too could have lived like other men, if they had liked. But they cared not for these fleeting shows. They renounced them of their own free will. Let us then learn to make great sacrifices for the Cause so that we may carry on their mission. Let us die like them now, or live as we were dead to the world. Then alone shall we worthily celebrate the anniversaries of their canonisation."

It was afterwards ascertained that the issues of the *Bande Mataram* from January to August 1910 were printed by a Mr. Koch at the Imprimerie Moderne, 52, rue du Rhone, Geneva, and that the order was given to him by Har Dayal. Mr. Koch printed 1,000 copies of each number. The first issue was handed over to Har Dayal in person, the other issues he sent to the address of one of Madame Cama's friends, Madame Cadiou, 140 (bis) Boulevard Montparnasse, Paris. In August 1910, Har Dayal wrote to Mr. Koch and told him that the newspapers had mentioned that the *Bande Mataram* was being printed in Geneva, and so he wished to discontinue its printing there. After that this paper, as well as the *Talvar*, was printed by the "Art Printing Company," Haringvliet, Rotterdam, and the copies were sent to Madame Cama. Towards the end of 1910 the editions of the *Bande Mataram* consisted of 1,200 copies.

December, 1910.

An article headed "The Genius and Traditions of the Race" contains a criticism of a speech by Surendranath Banerjea, editor of the *Bengalee*, of Calcutta, in which he is reported to have said, "Apart from these higher moral principles which have been preached by our sages, sung by our poets, which run through the blood of our people, which are a part and parcel of the life of the individual and the life of the nations * * * apart from them, the commonest dictates of prudence point to constitutional means as the only legitimate, the only useful weapon in political warfare." The writer disputes this and says that righteous war is the burden of Hindu song and fable. The Vedas are a long chant in praise of war, and the Puranas are full of descriptions of combats between gods and demons, and describe "a succession of Avatars or incarnations of the Deity, who benefit the world by destroying some great demon or tyrant; Krishna killing Kansa, Rama slaying Ravana, Parasurama exterminating the Kshatriyas, and Narasimha tearing out the bowels of Hiranyakassapa." Again he says, the Puranas have not given the greatest place in the Pantheon to Brahma or Vishnu or Kama or Ganesa, but to Siva, the god of death and destruction, the fiery-eyed Rudra, whose finger guides all beings to their common destiny with inexorable constancy; and the worship of Durga,

the enemy of demons, is one of the most widely spread cults in India. They great Epics too, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, are instinct with the breath of war. "Rama, Krishna, [116] Arjuna, Bhima, Yudhis-thira, Karna, these are the names that we have lisped in our childhood, these are the figures that have fired our boyish imagination. Where has Mr. Banerjea gone to learn those "higher principles" which teach ignoble ease and cowardice?"

In the course of the article the writer says that Surendranath Banerjea's tactics remind him of the following lines from Milton; those who have heard Mr. Banerjea speak and have read his paper will appreciate the cruelty of this attack :

"He seemed

For dignity composed and high exploit;
But all was false and hollow, though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels; for his thoughts were low,
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful. Yet he pleased the ear."

April, 1911.

This number begins with the following notice enclosed in a black border :—

IN MEMORIAM

19th April 1911.

Sacred to the memory of

DESHBHAKTAS KANHERE, KARVE AND DESHPANDE,

Who were put to death by our enemies in Bombay on the
above date for their heroic and successful
conspiracy at Nasik.

September, 1911.

In a signed article Madame Cama says "The *Bande Mataram* is entering on its third year with this number. This infant servant of the mighty Hindi Revolution will be kept up on the same line, always, though the writers and publishers may change from time to time! I am glad to mention that it is growing fast; and more and more copies are printed and circulated." Further on in the same article she says, addressing the Hindus in Europe, "I also appeal to your patriotism to make the best of your stay in the West, by taking all kinds of physical training (which is not allowed in our country). Above all learn how to shoot straight because they day is [117] not far when for coming into the inheritance of Swaraj and Swadesh you will be called upon to shoot the English out of the land which we all love so passionately." The importance of learning to shoot is also emphasised in another article.

The same number announces the arrival of Ajit Singh in Paris, and the writer hopes that after a period of rest "he will resume the excellent work for which he has become so well-known." Ajit Singh's claim to fame rests, of course, upon his deportation from the Punjab in 1907 (see page 23).

January, 1913.

In a signed article headed "Delhi" Madame Cama says "The enemy entered formally Delhi on the 23rd December, 1912, but under what an omen? A bomb was thrown on the Viceroy Lord Hardinge, as he was marching through the historical Chandni Chowk on an elephant supplied by the lackey of Faridkot. His Jemadar who held the gold umbrella over his head was killed instantaneously, but the Viceroy escaped, though he was severely wounded in the scapula! The Hindusthani Revolutionaries have nothing whatever to do with his wound being fatal or not, as they are not blood-thirsty hounds like the British!

This bomb-throwing was just to announce to the whole world that the English Government is discarded, and verily, whenever there is an opportunity the Revolutionaries are sure to show their mind, spirit and principle in Hindusthan!

There is one point of satisfaction still greater and more hopeful than ever, *i.e.*, not a single soul has yet betrayed the hands which manufactured and used the machine, and therein lies the success of it."

THE TALVAR

The first number of this paper, the title of which means "The Sword" was headed Berlin, November 20th, 1909, but it was afterwards ascertained that it was printed by "The Rotterdamsche Art and Book Printers" of 61, Haringvleit, Rotterdam. The December issue was sent to 75, Faubourg du Temple, Paris. Instructions regarding the despatch of the issues for January and February were sent by one Signor Alfieri of 51, Ladbroke Road, Bayswater, London, and under his orders the issue for January was sent to Mr. Reynolds, Manor House, Marylebone Road, London, and the issue for February to 51, Ladbroke Road, Bayswater. The latter was the address of V. Chattopadhyaya at the time; there was no [118] Signor Alfieri there, and comparison of the handwriting showed that Signor Alfieri's writing was the same as Chattopadhyaya's. Reynolds was the name of the lady who afterwards went through the form of marriage with Chattopadhyaya in Paris, and these results confirmed the statements already made in other quarters that the *Talvar* was Chattopadhyaya's work.

December, 1909.

"But if it is anarchism to be thoroughly ashamed of being ruled by a handful of vile alien vandals, if it is anarchism to wish to exterminate them with the noble desire of establishing our national freedom upon the basis of popular sovereignty, of justice, of mercy, of righteousness, and of humanity, if it is anarchism to rise for the sanctity of our homes, the integrity of our life, and the honour of our God and our country, and to slay every individual tyrant, whether foreign or native, that continues the enslavement of the great and noble people, if it is anarchism to conspire ceaselessly to take human life with the only object of emancipating our beloved Motherland, then we say, Cursed is the man that is not an anarchist! Cursed is the man that sleeps in his bed or carouses merrily in halls of wine, women and song, while alien parasites live and grow fat upon the scarlet sweat of our brows, and blood-suckers are raging over the land and slowly, silently, and 'peacefully' draining away the very life-blood of our nation!"

January, 1910.

This was entitled "The Nasik Double Number," and contained an article on the Nasik murder from which the following is taken :—

"The city of Nasik would have been false to her traditions and title as a Dharmakshetra if she had failed to send forth a Dharmavira at the present crisis of our national existence. Both Sri Ram and Sri Ramdas, the great master and the great disciple, have stored up their Tapas-tej in that holy place and it is without much surprise that we learn today that Nasik has claimed the honour of being the first city in India to successfully strike down an alien foe.

"The Rana of Udaipur, overwhelmed by the defeat and disgrace of the Hindu race, invoked the tutelary deity of Chitore and implored her to show him how he could prevent the downfall of the nation. It is said in the Rajput annals that the goddess Kali appeared to him in a dream and shrieked ominously, "Main bhuki hun!" Hungry am I and blood I want! Even so, ever since the martyrdom of Chapekar and Ranade, Kali the Terrible has been shrieking aloud in all directions of Hind, "Main bhuki hun! Main bhuki hun!" Jackson is the first victim that the War-goddess has claimed, and Kanare the Martyr devotee who purchased it at the cost of his own life." [119]

April-May, 1910.

"Alas, what a pathetic sight it is to see the descendants of Sri Ram and Sri Krishna, Arjun and Bhim, the Ghazis and the Akalis, Nana Sahab and Khan Bahadur tremble before a puny race of shop-keepers, because, forsooth, these are armed with modern guns and cannon, and we are not! Where is our heroism, where is our love of fighting gone? Have we lost our resource and faith in ourselves and the greatness of our destiny? Have we become so blind that we do not see the large quantity of arms that is still in the country available to us and the immense possibilities of increasing the same."

June-July, 1910.

"On the morning of the 19th April, 1910, three of the most beloved:

sons of Hindustan, Kanare, Karve and Deshpande, bore witness to the faith that was consuming their hearts and expired on the scaffold erected by the enemy." The writer describes their doings as part of the war for the independence of the country started in 1857, and proceeds, "How then shall we weep for them? How can we mourn their death? One thing alone there is which we ought to do for them, and which we will do for them, and that is to avenge them. We shall carry on the work that they started, we shall not lower the flag that they raised on high, we shall push on with the war until our enemies are confounded and Hindusthan emerges, as in the past, the greatest nation in the world."

Chattopadhyaya was now in Paris, and for the reasons explained at page 206 this short-lived but virulent publication came to an end.

THE FREE HINDUSTHAN

The *Free Hindusthan* was first published in April, 1908, in Vancouver, B.C., the name of Taraknath Das appearing on the title page as Manager. This man was born about 1884, the son of the late Kali Mohan Das, who was employed in the Check Office, Central Telegraph Office, Calcutta. Taraknath Das was a member of the first revolutionary society started about 1903 in Calcutta, and he took a leading part in the formation of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti (see page 154). Leaving India about 1906, he proceeded *via* Japan to San Francisco and entered the University of California, at Berkeley, as a student. In January, 1908, he was in the employ of the United States Immigration Office at Vancouver as an interpreter, and he was accused of abusing this position by taking bribes from the ignorant Indian immigrants. About the middle of 1908, either on account of the disloyal tone of his paper or because his systematic bribery had been found out, he [120] had to leave the Immigration Office. He then went to Seattle, and the July, 1908, number of the *Free Hindusthan* was issued from there. From Seattle Taraknath made his way East, and the August and succeeding numbers of the paper were described as published by the "Free Hindusthan Publication Committee, 749, Third Avenue, New York."

In September, 1908, Taraknath Das entered the Norwich University, Northfield, Vermont, a high-class engineering and military establishment, in order to receive military training. He also applied for enlistment, as a student of the institution, in the Vermont National Guard, but this was not permitted by the United States authorities. It was noticed in the college that he was bitterly hostile to England and voiced his hostility on all occasions, appropriate and otherwise. Before he joined the President

had warned him that nothing in the nature of anti-British agitation would be allowed, and as he systematically disregarded this warning he had to leave the college at the end of the winter term of 1908-09. While at Northfield he still continued to run the *Free Hindusthan* which he got published in New York by the help of George Freeman of the *Gaelic American*. In the Autumn of 1909 he returned to Seattle, and was there during the greater part of 1910; he was very badly off and the paper came to an end that year through the intervention of the United States authorities (See page 222).

The *Free Hindusthan* was an imitation of the *Indian Sociologist* in general get up and also in style, though it was conducted with much less ability. The following summaries and quotations are from the issues for the months named :—

July, 1908.

“The policy of the British Government is to plunder Hindusthan and oppress the people by keeping them in utter ignorance. Her secret agents at British Columbia are scared at the educational movement among Hindu labourers. We are not afraid of threatening of the *London Times*, and we will do our best to get our people educated. We advocate India for the Indians, and must be governed by them. We implore the aid and sympathy of our friends all over the world to help our educational movement. Education to Hindustan can alone change the condition of 300 millions of people in Hindustan.” [121]

September, 1908.

In this number the murder of Norendra Nath Gossain, the approver in the Maniktolla conspiracy case, is described as a dramatic finish to an infamous episode in his life, and considerable space is devoted to what is called the trouble caused by the Foreign Government interference with the management of the Khalsa College (the college for Sikhs at Amritsar). The article concludes with an anonymous letter, purporting to be written by a Sikh student in the United States, which includes the following : “The *Feringhi* are going to interfere in all our business if we remain calm and quiet. The time is not very far when they will come to settle our social and our family questions, such as marriage and protection of women. The man who supports British rule to make Khalsas slaves of foreign rulers is a traitor to all Khalsas and to our sacred religion. Every true Khalsa must do his best to free the nation from such slavery.”

October, 1908.

“We all know that the national uprising of 1857 would have been successful in throwing off the foreign yoke if our own people and the Nepalese had not engaged in helping the tyrants. Let us remember that the British Government required a force of 200,000 (two hundred thousand) to oppress the national rising and of this force there were only

40,000 Europeans and of the rest 80,000 were Gurkhas (Nepalese sent by Jung Bahadur of Nepal) and 80,000 Sikhs and other troops. The Nepalese first took the fort of Lucknow from the Sepoys and so gave the death blow to the national aspiration in 1857. Now the problem before us is to see whether the native troops of the British Government which number over 200,000 will again join hands with the tyrants or not. We believe not, if work could be carried on in giving the idea of the benefits of independence among the native troops. At least we have seen the Sikhs refuse to fire upon the Punjabee peasants at Lahore and at Rawalpindi during the riots of 1907. To work among the native troops is not a very difficult matter, because they are already discontented owing to unjust treatment by the British Government; they are underpaid, underfed and badly treated." He then proceeds to consider the case of the Gurkhas, and remarks "It is not a very hard task if we go to work earnestly. Compare our possibility of success with the English. The English do not read or write 'Devnagari' which the Nepalese do as we do. The Nepalese are Hindus and the Nepalese were bitter enemies of England some time ago. The only thing we have to do is to preach the sense of Hindu honour among the Nepalese, to stimulate their National desire to get a place among international powers."

January-February, 1909.

On the front page of this number there is a picture of Indians being blown from guns, "Copied from the original painting by the great Russian painter, Verestchagin," with this description below :—

"After the Sepoy uprising in 1857 and formal declaration of peace in 1858, the most prominent Indian patriarchs and large [122] numbers of able-bodied men without any discrimination were blown to atoms from cannon-mouths. This extremely brutal measure was adopted by the British Government to horrify the Indian people who wanted to liberate India from the foreign yoke. These men loved independence as much as any people. They fought for freedom of India and defied death. We pay our homage to them, the martyrs of our own nation".

July-August, 1909.

The so-called famine relief fund is nothing more or less than a mere subterfuge of taxing the starving to save the dying. This fund does not rain from heaven, nor does the British Exchequer give it. If the British Government spends £5,000,000 on the present famine they will simply take it out of the poverty-stricken surviving taxpayers, who would in turn become victims of the next drought. The British people stand charged with the blood of the perishing millions and the starvation of scores of millions. Under the British Indian despot the man is at peace, there is no violence; his substance is drained away, unseen, peaceably and subtly; he starves in peace with law and order! I wonder how the British people would like the fate." (Note : This is a quotation from a book called "Poverty and British Rule in India").

March-April, 1910.

An article on "Our right to create a revolution in India" quotes a speech by Abraham Lincoln, made in the House of Representatives on January 12, 1848, on "War with Mexico"—"Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate our country. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people under an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize their own country, and so much of territory as they inhabit." Hence, the writer argues, we have a right to create a revolution in India. The only question is whether we have the desire and the power to carry it out. The primary necessity is to arouse a national spirit in the mass of the people of India and make them understand the need of national independence; according to Mazzini "Education and insurrections are the only methods by which we can rouse the mass of the people".

Another article on revolution declares that the idea of revolution in India is fostered by the best brains and is spreading all over the country like wild-fire. The use of the revolver, bomb, and so forth is hailed with joy if it is a sign of national awakening. Nationalists are reminded, however, by the lessons of the Liberation Movement of 1857, that it is necessary for all Indians to unite in the common cause. Revolutionary organisations therefore are necessary, not only in British India, but all over India. Solitary acts of courage will not attain the goal; we must have an organised uprising.

[123] THE GHADR

The first number of this paper, the title of which means Mutiny and is the word usually applied in Hindustani to the Indian Mutiny of 1857, is dated November 1st, 1913, and described as published by the *Yugantar Ashram* of San Francisco, United States of America. The place of publication at 436, Hill Street, is obviously named after the *Yugantar* (New Era) of Calcutta (see page 69), the word *Ashram* meaning a sort of monastic retreat; it was printed at 1324, Valencia Street. The paper describes itself quite plainly as "the enemy of the British Raj", and announces that it will be issued weekly in Urdu and Gurmukhi. Urdu, or as it is commonly called Hindustani, the camp and court language of the Moghuls, is the most widely known language of Upper India, and Gurmukhi is the special language of the Sikhs. The *Ghadr* was started by Har Dayal of whose earlier career and training as a revolutionary journalist an account is given in Chapter VIII. His further progress after his arrival in the United States at the beginning of 1911 is described in Chapter IX.

The *Ghadr* was specially intended to appeal to the martial races of India, and was posted to the Punjab in large numbers from many places in the United States and British Columbia, apparently in order to escape interception in the post. Two hundred and fifteen packets containing copies of the paper arrived at Bombay on January 30th, 1914; ordinary envelopes were used so as to look like private correspondence, and the handwriting and mode of address on the envelopes were very varied. The addresses were all residents of the Punjab and included a number of Indian army officers. The importation of the paper into India had been prohibited under the Sea Customs Act on 22nd December, 1913, and these packets were intercepted, but in a speech delivered in America on 15th November, 1913, Har Dayal stated that hundreds of copies of the *Ghadr* had been already sent to India, and it is presumed that many copies of the earlier issues got through. Even after the orders were passed considerable numbers appear to have escaped interception, and a few of these were made over to the authorities by the [124] recipients. Besides those which came direct from America copies were sent through friends in Europe, as well as in China and other places in the Far East, and many of them must have entered India undetected.

On the 13th January, 1914, Ram Chandra Peshawari, formerly editor of the *Akash* of Delhi, arrived in San Francisco to take over the duties of editor of the Urdu edition of the *Ghadr*. Har Dayal, the real driving power behind the paper, was arrested by the United States authorities at the end of March, on account of speeches delivered by him at Oregon and San Francisco during 1913, with a view to his deportation, and released on bail of 1,000 dollars. He did not await the decision, but left his sureties to pay up and absconded to Europe, arriving in Lausanne, Switzerland, at the beginning of May. After his departure Ram Chandra Peshawari carried on the paper with the help of Taraknath Das, formerly editor of the *Free Hindusthan*. (See page 119).

In May, 1914, a third edition of the *Ghadr* was started, this time in the *Gujarati* language. The first number is dated 10th May, 1914. It is printed on yellow paper and is similar in style and get-up to the Urdu and Gurmukhi issues. It contains a notice that the paper is now printed in Urdu, Gurmukhi, and *Gujarati*, and requests all brethren who have a knowledge of these languages and love for their country to correspond with

the editor in order that copies of the paper may be sent to them free of charge. In 1915 a fourth language was added, the first number of the Hindi edition appearing on March 1st, but its publication was irregular as there was some difficulty in getting good writers of *Hindi*.

About the middle of 1915 it was definitely ascertained that some 3,000 copies of the *Ghadr* were posted from San Francisco to places in the Federated Malay States, the Dutch East Indies, Siam, and other places in the Far East, so that the whole circulation of the paper at this time must have reached a formidable figure. The character of the paper will appear from the following extracts and summarises :—

1st November, 1913.

“What is our name? The *Ghadr*. In what does our work consist? In bringing about a rising Where will this rising break out? In India. When will it break out? In a few years. Why should it break out? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practised under English rule and are ready to fight and die for freedom. It is the duty of every Indian to make preparations for this rising.

“The English have been establishing their rule for the past 150 years. They have gradually usurped many parts of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the Punjab. They have poked their noses into Native States also and have been weakening the latter in every way It is now time that this spreading fire was extinguished, this plague put down, this base, rascally, evil-doing and vicious Government destroyed, and arrangements for freedom, peace, education, sanitation and progress made according to the principles of civilization.”

Under the heading “Germany and Ireland will unite: Germany will make war on the English,” the writer says that when war breaks out between Germany and England fortune will smile on those nations that are now being ruined through English oppression. Indians should be on the look out for this opportunity, lest this auspicious hour should come and pass without a rising in India. Recently von Bernhardi, a German officer, has, after travelling in Ireland, published an article which has caused a great sensation throughout the Fatherland. He has shown that were Germany to go to war with England the Irish would side with the Germans in order to secure their independence. Indians also should now prepare for a rising. The tyrannical English are about to be hard pressed from every side.

8th November, 1913.

“What dear readers, is your duty? It is that you should help us with your body, mind and wealth in achieving success. It is not sufficient that a few men should exert themselves. This great work can be accomplished only through labour and sacrifice on the part of all.

"Your first duty is regularly to remit money to us. Thousands of copies of this paper should be published . . . so that the enemy may be frightened and may forthwith begin to pack up.

"Your second duty is to read the paper carefully, to remember the things published in it and as far as possible not to destroy it.

"Your third duty is to make others read the paper.

"Your fourth duty consists in sending the paper to India by placing it in a cover or otherwise.

"Your fifth duty is to prepare to fight and die in the rising. Independence will not come by reading newspapers and causing them to be read. Look out for the time when the rising will take place and you will slay the enemy". [126].

23rd December, 1913.

This issue was printed on yellow paper; the allusion in the following passage is to the fact that Hindu *sadhus* and *sanyasis* (religious devotees) usually wear yellow garments.

"We appear to-day for the first time in our yellow apparel because in the history of India this garb is associated with the memory of martyrs and heroes. We send out to-day a message and a prophecy about Mutiny in letters of blood on this coloured paper. To-day this heroic paper, in the glory of its new garb, loudly conveys this message to you—Brethren do you also don your yellow garments, and leaving aside all material comforts and luxuries begin to fight with the British Government. Burn to ashes your weakness of spirit in the fire of bravery, throw away from to-day your old dress which is saturated with servility, and putting on yellow apparel become men by bathing in the sacred river of heroism. Wash away the filth of ages, and come into the temple of freedom to make an offering of your life. Here no offering less than one's life is accepted. Every devoted son of his Motherland who reads this newspaper is charged with the duty of becoming a soldier of revolution. He should enlist in the regiment of Mutiny; he should be prepared to fight. He should dream of revolt; he should wait with eager expectancy for the day of rebellion."

In February, 1914, the *Ghadr* was supplemented by a leaflet entitled "Declaration of War. A Bugle Call for the *Ghadr* Army". 90 letters containing copies of this were intercepted in Bombay on March 13th.

The leaflet, which is printed in Urdu and Gurmukhi begins, "The Feringhees have taken possession of our dear country, have spoiled its civilisation and morality, have carried off the Koh-i-Noor to England, and have spread famine, plague and malaria in India." Not content with this, "They have leagued themselves with the Governments of Australia, Canada and Africa to prevent Indians from entering these countries and now wish to ask the American Government to prohibit Indians from coming to America." The writer calls on Indians at home and abroad to resist the passing of such a law, and invites Indians living in America to attend a meeting to be held at Stockton on the 15th February and take a pledge to raise the standard of rebellion and "write the sacred word Freedom upon Indian soil in the blood of the English."

21st July, 1914.

In an article entitled "The *Ghadr* in Switzerland—Connection with Germany," the writer argues that Germany being the enemy of England, which is also our enemy, we should regard the former country as our friend. The German nation will certainly help any movement for the independence of India, because the present prosperity and greatness of England is an eyesore to Germany. Therefore it is essential that friendly relations should be established with German journalists and political leaders, and that they should be kept informed of the progress of our movement. He suggests that [127] in future Germany will be the best refuge for those Indian patriots who have to remain away from their country.

8th November, 1914.

This number contains an announcement that the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* (the head of the Mahomedan religion), has declared that it is the duty of every Mahomedan to fight against the English, French and Russians, and that he will go in person to Mecca to tell Mahomedans that a *jihad* (Holy War) has been proclaimed. Special efforts were apparently made to send this issue of the *Ghadr* to Mahomedans; it is known that a packet containing 51 copies was addressed to a firm of merchants at Medina, presumably for distribution to Mahomedan pilgrims from India but it did not reach its destination.

17th January, 1915.

The writer of the leading article denies the truth of the alleged German atrocities in Belgium, and recounts a long list of atrocities committed by the English in India and Egypt. There is also an article by Farid Bey, the Egyptian nationalist, who writes that God has induced the English to enter the war because he wishes to destroy them for their wicked treatment of other nations; it has been proved that English soldiers cannot face a well-trained enemy; the time has now come for oppressed and subject nations to gain their independence. In another paragraph it is reported that a body of 5,000 Indian troops who were ordered to attack the Germans signalled that they wished to desert to their side. The Indians made a feigned attack and on coming near the German lines surrendered, but the interchange of signals had been observed and two thousand Indian soldiers were shot down from behind by English troops.

In May, 1914, a pamphlet in Gurmukhi was issued from the *Ghadr* press, entitled *Ghadr-di-Gunj* (Echo of Mutiny). The title-page announces that this is the first of a series of Mutiny books which are being published and distributed gratis from the *Yugantar Ashram*, San Francisco, and that 10,000 copies of it have been printed. The pamphlet contains a number of revolutionary poems, reprinted from the *Ghadr*, of which the following passage is a sample. "Hindus, Sikhs, Mussulmans, act quickly and each assist the other. Drink the blood of the Christian *kafirs*: when

you have had your fill, you will find relief. Drive out the faithless *Feringhis* and rule Hindustan yourselves."

YUGANTAR CIRCULAR

This circular was sent to India in large number in February, 1913, and it was ascertained from Paris that [128] Madame Cama had in her possession 1,500 copies for circulation. In a report received from America, dated 15th January, 1913, it was stated that a pamphlet on the significance of the bomb had been prepared by Har Dayal and forwarded by him to Krishnavarma in Paris to be printed and distributed to all parts of the world. The circular answers to this description, and internal evidence confirms the view that it was Har Dayal's work. It is in English, and refers to the attempted assassination of Lord Hardinge on 23rd December, 1912; the following are extracts from it :—

THE DELHI BOMB

"This is the name that we propose to give to this epoch-making, thought-provoking, far-resounding bomb of December 23, 1912. One may say that it is one of the sweetest and loveliest bombs that have exploded in India since the great day on which Khudi Ram Bose first ushered in a new era in the history of India, more than four years ago. Indeed this bomb is one of the most serviceable and successful bombs in the History of Freedom all over the world. Delhi has redeemed her ancient fame. She has spoken, and the world has heard and the tyrant has heard too ! And we, the devoted soldiers of freedom in the country or abroad, have also heard the message.

"And why do we rejoice with a great joy over the broken *howdah* and prostrate form of the tyrant on this memorable day ? Why do our eyes fill with tears of gladness and our hearts feel the stirrings of a mighty purpose ? What lesson should our young men and women learn from this thunder-peal of Freedom ?

"This bomb marks the definite revival of the Revolutionary movement after the short interval of inactivity that has been recently noticeable. The repressive measures that have been taken by the Government during four years have deprived us of some of our best comrades, but left their indomitable spirit and unbounded faith with us. The government in a panic did its work: our journals and newspapers were suppressed; our brave men were imprisoned and condemned to a living grave; our faithful fighters for the cause were exiled and persecuted. All India was hushed into silence. The Revolutionary spirit seemed crushed. The tyrants were happy; the hirelings in Calcutta felt safe in their seats.

"Finally, the jaded King of England was trotted out to Delhi in the winter of 1911 to impress the grandeur of the "Empire" on the minds of the assembled hosts of Hindusthan. The great "Durbar," in which, the money of the people was squandered on [129] debauched kings and queens and princess and princesses, was intended to mark the final culmination of the empire-building process in India. It was also meant to proclaim to the whole world that the Revolutionary spirit was conquered and tamed. The decrepit King George cried from the balcony of the Delhi palace "Lo ! the work of Khudi Ram Bose is now undone." But the spirit of Revolution willed otherwise.

"Many were the wishes and prayers that surged in the hearts of all lovers of Freedom in those dark days of shame. How we yearned for the news of the assassination of the blessed "Emperor" from day to day ! The entire thought-power of all the good men and women of India was then concentrated on this one idea. As the "Durbar" ended without the desired consummation, we were sad and gloomy. Our Durbar had not been celebrated. The bomb was not there and no "Imperial Durbar" can be complete without the bomb. How loyal we seem to be—we the Revolutionists cannot be absent from a Durbar ! Strange, is it not ?

"A year passed. The pride of the tyrants was not gratified. They must imitate the Moghuls in all respects. It was unworthy of an august person like the Viceroy of India to enter Delhi without pomp and ceremony ! He must celebrate the event with becoming splendour. And then why should he be left behind Curzon of Kedleston ? Curzon had ridden an elephant; why not Hardinge ? And how can the Empire be consolidated and defended without the elephant ? So the Viceroy must make an "Imperial" entry into Delhi !

"Who can describe the moral power of the bomb ? It is concentrated moral dynamite. When the strong and the cunning in the pride of their power parade their glory before their helpless victims, when the rich and the haughty set themselves on a pedestal and ask their slaves to fall down before them and worship them, when the wicked ones of the earth seem exalted to the sky and nothing appears to withstand their might, then, in that dark hour, for the glory of humanity, comes the bomb, which lays the tyrant in the dust. It tells all the cowering slaves that he who sits enthroned as a god is a mere man like them. Then, in that hour of shame, the bomb preaches the eternal truth of human equality and sends proud Emperors and Viceroys from the palace and the *howdah* to the grave and the hospital. Then, in that tense moment when human nature is ashamed of itself, the bomb declares the vanity of power and pomp, and redeems us from our own baseness. How great we all feel when someone does a heroic deed ! We share in his moral power; we rejoice in his assertion of human equality and dignity.

Deep down in the human heart, like a diamond in a mine, lies hidden the yearning for justice, equality and brotherhood. We do not even know it ourselves, but it is there all the same. And that is why

we instinctively honour those who make war on inequality [130] and injustice by any means in their power—the pen, the tongue, the sword, the gun, the strike, and last but not the least, the Bomb.”

THE “SHABASH” PAMPHLET

This pamphlet, the title of which means “Bravo!,” is described on the front page as “A present on the Anniversary of the Bomb; published on the 23rd December, 1913.” The frontispiece is a picture of the “Tree of Liberty,” and below is written “price per copy the head of an Englishman.” The concluding sentence indicates that the pamphlet was intended to be taken as “A voice from Paris,” but the conspirators made rather a bad slip. A box containing 1,000 copies, enclosed in addressed envelopes ready for posting to India, was sent from San Francisco to Madame Cama in Paris. It was opened by the French Customs authorities, and Madame Cama was informed that she was liable to a fine on each envelope as the procedure was contrary to the Postal laws. She refused delivery, and expressed her indignation at the stupidity of her Californian friends.

The following are selected passages from this rather long production :—

“The best reason for the pursuance of the bomb and pistol policy is that there is no more efficacious way of dealing with the situation. There is no better instrument than the bomb. The roar of the bomb represents the voice of the united nations. Who does not understand this? The Madrassi and the Bengali, the Punjabi and the Pathan, the educated and the uneducated—all understand the meaning of the bomb. How are we to convey the message of freedom to the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, and the Pathans in the Indian Army? These people are, in the first place, uneducated, and, secondly, they are confined in cantonments where it is difficult to approach them. But the tyrant himself gave us the opportunity. On the 23rd December, 1912, the Alibaba of the English thieves, the Viceroy of India, mounted an elephant and started in a procession through the streets of Delhi. Both sides of the road were lined with thousands of Indian soldiers. Rajas, Maharajas and hundred of thousands of men, women and children were assembled to testify to the grandeur of the Government on every side. But the hidden lightning of revolution was also present, ready to demolish the seven-storied tower of the pride of the mischievous. The bomb demonstrated to the Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas, Rajas and Maharajas in three seconds that the British kingdom in India was about to come to an end. The bomb in question was a national warning, by beat of drum, to the brave men of India to gird up their loins and come out into the [131] field of battle. It was the voice of the goddess of liberty crying, “You that are prepared to sacrifice your lives, be up and doing.” Who did not

hear that cry? The existence of the bomb proves that oppression prevails in the country. In short, the use of the bomb and the pistol is the most effective weapon of the political sermon.

* * *

"In Asiatic countries the appearance of the bomb is the advance guard of complete liberty. The reader will know that the first lesson of warfare that Doctor Sun Yat Sen learnt was the manufacture of the bomb. It is not twenty years since the said doctor introduced the bomb into China, in consequence of which a republican Government was established in China long ago. In India the great warrior Hem Chandra Das established the first college of bomb literature in Bengal in 1907. He, as it were, planted the flag-staff of liberty in the country on that day. Since then the national warlike party has won many battles. Last year at Delhi the battle of Plassey was revenged and the slightest doubt that was left about the brave people of Northern India taking their proper share in the battle for freedom was totally removed. Delhi has been the battlefield of many a kingdom and the warrior that was defeated there was ruined. The English have lost the first trick and suffered defeat at the outset.

"All these are signs of our liberty. Germany and other European nations are determined to break the British Empire into pieces and will not rest till they have accomplished their object. We shall not be surprised if a telegram is suddenly received one day that ruinous war has broken out between Germany and England. Shall we let that opportunity slip out of our hands? No, never. Germany itself is anxiously waiting for an opportunity to begin war with the English in India and to crush them in Europe.

"We present this gift to-day on the anniversary of the bomb to all Indians with the prayer that they may spill their own blood or that of the Europeans in India, even as our pen has spilt ink on the paper. You should either die or be put to death after killing. Do not sit idle in your homes. The bread of servitude is bitter. Death is a thousand times better than a life of servitude. Then, O young men and women! do not remain hidden in your holes like so many worms, but come out and kill the Englishmen and their servants and supporters who are scoundrels. Life is short and death is hanging over your heads. Opportunities will not occur over and over again. Seek to perform some great deed before you pass away. Crores of persons are born and die daily, but blessed is the birth of the man who punishes an oppressor. Blessed is the death of the man who suffers martyrdom for the sake of freedom. Remember the Persian saying, "Birth for martyrdom." Make up your mind that you will not die of disease, or accident or old age, like ordinary men, but will die after killing an oppressor. Sooner or later you must die. Then why should you not do some good before dying?

[132] "During this period of calamity, there is nothing more useful for India than the bomb. It is the bomb that frightens the Govern-

ment into conceding rights to the people. The chief thing is to frighten the Government. Under the whip of fright the Government will reduce the taxes, will spend more money on the protection of health, and will abstain from interference with reforms in Native States. Whatever freedom is left in the Native States will be maintained by virtue of the bomb, for then the Government will not interfere much in the internal affairs of the Native States. The fear of the bomb will induce lazy and intemperate Rajas to discharge their duties properly. The bomb is the messenger of mutiny, and the fear of mutiny is the weapon for correcting the Government, while a general mutiny will be the means of its total annihilation. Without the bomb, slavery and poverty would have gone on increasing in India in the twentieth century, and there would have been no limit to oppression. But a voice proclaims from Paris now that the oppression is about to come to an end, for the bomb, the benefactor and protector of the poor, has been brought across the seas; bow down to it in worship and sing its praise."

THE ISLAMIC FRATERNITY

This paper differs from the others described in this chapter in that it was published by a Mahomedan for Mahomedans, while all the others are Hindu publications. It was started in Tokio, Japan, early in 1910, by Mahomed Barakatullah, to whose previous activities in New York reference is made in Chapter IX (see page 218 and 221). Barakatullah was born about 1864, the son of Munshi Shaikh Kadratullah, a Bhopal State servant who died about 1876. Barakatullah, who was a very clever youth, left home about 1883 and was employed as a tutor in Khandwa and later in Bombay. After some years he went to England, and was in Liverpool in 1895. Here he made the acquaintance of Sirdar Narsullah Khan of Kabul, brother of the present Amir, and he is said to have arranged to supply the Amir through him with information regarding English affairs, and to have sent a weekly news-letter to the Amir's agent at Karachi from 1896 to 1898. In 1897 he was in London and attended meetings of the Muslim Patriotic League. Barakatullah went to America about 1903, and, as mentioned in the passage cited above, left in February, 1909, for Japan, having been appointed Professor of Hindustani in the University of Tokio.

[133] The tone of the *Islamic Fraternity* was not at first particularly objectionable, though from the beginning it advocated a rather militant pan-Islamism. In June, 1911, Barakatullah left Tokio to visit Constantinople and Cairo. He arrived at Petrograd on July 5th, and the same day sent a letter to Krishnavarma in Paris requesting him to communicate with him.

He returned to Tokio in October, 1911, and resumed the publication of his paper. He had left it in the hands of a German named F. Schroeder and a Japanese named U. Hatano, but they failed to bring out the August number, and he started again with the issue dated September. In this number a writer calling himself "Plaindealer" refers to a great pan-Islamic Alliance that may be formed some day, including Afghanistan which he calls "the future Japan of Central Asia." All that is required is a leader, and that leader, he says, "will arise in Central Asia, probably in Afghanistan," whereupon "the firing of an Afghan gun will give the signal for the rising of all Islam as soon as she is ready and willing to open her gates for believers to fight under the green banner of the prophet, or under her own."

Most of the December, 1911, number was devoted to a description of the formal conversion to Islam of three Japanese, U. Hatano (the young man who undertook to edit the paper in Barakatullah's absence), his wife, and her father, whose name is given as Baron Kentaro Hiki. This was described as the first conversion to Islam in Japan; the ceremony took place at Barakatullah's house and was performed by him, and he appeared to regard it as the fore-runner of a great Japanese conversion.

In 1912 the editor became at once more fluent in his use of the English language and more anti-British in his tone. The March number, contains an article on "The Situation in the Balkans," in the course of which the editor, after quoting a passage from the Spectator, says "A Roman poet who lived two hundred years before Christ described the Anglo-Saxons of his time as the sea-wolves whose home was the ocean, whose friend was the storm and who lived on the pillage of the world. Two thousand years have elapsed since, and yet the predatory [134] instinct of the race is not softened. If anything at all has been added to it, it is the refinement of hypocrisy which sharpens the edge of brutality."

Owing to the strong anti-British attitude adopted by Barakatullah the entry of the paper into India was prohibited under the Sea Customs Act on July 6, 1912, and the character of the paper having been brought to the notice of the authorities it was suppressed by the Japanese Government in October, 1912.

In September, 1912, copies of a paper called *El Islam* began to appear in India. This paper, which was reported in the *Islamic Fraternity* to have started in January, 1912, purported

to be devoted to the work of the Islamic religion. The nominal editor was the Japanese convert mentioned above, who now called himself by the half-Mahomedan name of Hassan U. Hatano. *El Islam*, however, began to appear regularly only after the suppression of the *Islamic Fraternity*, and it soon became apparent that Barakatullah was simply using it to continue his political propaganda. The importation of this paper into India was accordingly prohibited in the same way on 22nd March, 1913.

In June 1913 copies were received in India from the Far East of a pamphlet in Urdu entitled "The Sword is the last resort". It was lithographed, and the handwriting, like the style, closely resembled Barakatullah's. The pamphlet refers to the alleged atrocities in the Balkan war and the other misfortunes of Islam. The blame for all these evils is laid on England. Mahomedans are enjoined to form secret societies and endeavour to annihilate the oppressive English who are robbing and plundering India. They should endeavour to destroy the feeling of fear of the English which is "a spider's web woven with deceit." Those Indian spies who are faithful to the English should be picked out and killed, and the burning alive of 5,000 Muslim women should be avenged by setting fire to 50,000 English homes. The writer goes on to say that "the English have spread the organisation of the Criminal Investigation Department far and wide. The *mullahs* in mosques, *pujaris* in temples, prostitutes, street hawkers, shop-keepers, teachers [135] are now connected with the Criminal Investigation Department." Indians should, therefore, make the work of the Criminal Investigation Department as dangerous as possible. In view of the European situation, and especially of the possibility of a war between England and Germany, Indians should make preparations now for an armed rising.

On 31st March, 1914, Barakatullah's appointment in the University of Tokio was terminated by the Japanese authorities, and this was followed by the appearance in India in May of another similar lithographed Urdu leaflet called *Feringhi ka Fareb* (The deceit of the English). It surpassed in violence Barakatullah's previous productions, and was modelled more on the style of the publications of the *Ghadr* party of San Francisco with whom Barakatullah now threw in his lot. (See page 239.)

CHAPTER V

THE MANIKTOLLA BOMB CONSPIRACY

THE MUZAFFARPORE BOMB OUTRAGE

The Maniktolla bomb conspiracy was brought to light by a bomb outrage which took place at Muzaffarpore at 8-30 p.m. on April 30th, 1908. The bomb was thrown into a carriage in which Mrs. and Miss Kennedy, the wife and daughter of a local barrister, were returning from the Club, opposite the gate of the residence of the District Judge, Mr. D. H. Kingsford, I.C.S. The bomb was not intended for the two ladies, but for Mr. Kingsford who was coming along, not far behind them, in a similar carriage. Miss Kennedy died almost at once and Mrs. Kennedy 28 hours later. In Bepin Chandra Pal's speech on *Sakti Puja*, the Worship of Power (see page 43), it is pointed out that the auspicious time for a sacrifice to the goddess Kali is the night which is called in the Hindu calendar *amavasya*. This is the darkest night of the month, the night on which the moon is by astronomical calculation new although it does not become actually visible till two days later. It has been ascertained from the Meteorological Department that the moon was new at 9-3 p.m. on the 30th of April, 1908, and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that this, the first revolutionary sacrifice to the goddess Kali, was performed on the auspicious night of the *Amavasya*.

REASONS WHY MR. KINGSFORD WAS ATTACKED

According to the statements of conspirators afterwards arrested, and of Khudiram Bose who actually threw the bomb, Mr. Kingsford's life was attempted because, as Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, he had tried cases against the *Yugantar*, *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya* and *Navasakti* newspapers, and convicted persons connected with them (see Chapter IV). An incident which occurred during the prosecution of the *Bande Mataram* also had some effect. At the hearing of this case on August 26th, 1907, Arabindo Ghose being one of the accused, disorderly scenes took place in Court and were continued in the streets in the vicinity. While the streets were being cleared a youth named Soshil Kumar Sen of [137] Sylhet was arrested for assaulting the

police, and next day he was convicted by Mr. Kingsford and sentenced to a whipping of 15 stripes. The following day he was garlanded at a meeting held for the purpose in College Square and in his honour speeches were made in which he was described as a martyr. The prominent part he took in the disturbance at the trial of Arabindo Ghose indicates that he was a zealous partisan, and evidence was found on which he was put on his trial as a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy. He was convicted in the original proceedings, but on appeal the judges of the High Court disagreed regarding him, and eventually he had the good fortune to be acquitted by the third judge to whom the case was referred.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPT ON MR. KINGSFORD'S LIFE

A previous attempt by the same gang on the life of Mr. Kingsford, which did not become known till after the discovery of the conspiracy, may be conveniently recorded here. After their arrest some members of the gang stated that while he was still Chief Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta, before his transfer to Muzaffarpore, a bomb had been sent to Mr. Kingsford enclosed in a book. When this was first mentioned it was regarded as a hoax, but when it was repeated independently by other members of the society Mr. Kingsford was asked about it. He thereupon found in his library, at Muzaffarpore, a book done up in brown paper which he remembered had been brought to the house in Calcutta; he thought at the time that it was a law book he had lent being returned, and the parcel was never opened. It was packed with the rest of the books when he went to Muzaffarpore, and deposited there in his library still unopened. Finding it there, as already described, he opened the parcel and began to lift up the cover of the book, when he saw that there was something inside. He therefore closed it again and informed the Criminal Investigation Department. The book was taken to Calcutta and opened in the garden of the Commissioner of Police; a hollow space had been made in the middle of the book by cutting away the central portion of the leaves, and inside was a tin filled with picric acid with a spring and a detonator so attached that it should go off when the parcel was opened. But the [138] climate of Bengal had done its work; the spring was badly rusted and possibly the detonating mixture had also suffered, and expert opinion was divided as to which of these causes had operated to

prevent the explosion which ought to have followed instantly the opening of the parcel.

PREVIOUS ATTEMPTED OUTRAGES

The existence in Bengal of a bomb conspiracy of some sort had already become pretty obvious from the attempt made on December 6th, 1907, at Kharagpur in the Midnapore District, to blow up the train in which the Lieutenant-Governor was travelling, and an attempt made on April 11th, 1908, to assassinate M. Tardival, the Maire of French Chandernagore, with a bomb has brought the Calcutta Police still more closely on the track. The Bengal Criminal Investigation Department were also receiving information which afterwards proved of great value, but it was decided not to make any searches in Calcutta as the time did not appear to be ripe. On April 20th, however, the Commissioner of Police received information that two men, of whom no further particulars were known, had left Calcutta for Muzaffarpore to kill Mr. Kingsford, and an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department was sent to the District Superintendent of Police of Muzaffarpore with a letter informing him of the rather vague facts then known. Mr. Kingsford, who was told about it, attached no importance to the story, but the Superintendent of Police arranged to have his house watched, and also posted two constables near the club to follow him home.

ARREST OF KHUDIRAM BOSE

On the evening the bomb was thrown these two men saw two young Bengalis loitering near the club; they stated, on being questioned, that they were students staying with a Bengali clerk whose name they gave, and moved away shortly after this conversation. The constables were a little way off when the explosion took place, and saw two men running across the *maidan*, but it was a dark night and they failed to catch them. Steps were promptly taken by the District Magistrate to close all routes by which the assassins might be expected to escape, and next day Khudiram Bose of Midnapore was [139] arrested at Waini Station. He was taken to Muzaffarpore and there confessed before the Magistrate that he has thrown the bomb. He gave the name of his accomplice as Dinesh Chandra Roy, and stated that he did not know him before he met him at Howrah Station when they started for Muzaffarpore.

SUICIDE OF PRAFULLA CHAKI

The accomplice, whose true name was Profulla Chandra Chaki, was noticed at Samastipur Station on May 2nd by a Sub-Inspector of the Singbhum District Police who had been to Muzaffarpore on leave and started on May 1st to return to duty. He was suspicious from the first, but refrained from taking any action till he reached Mokameh Station, where, with the assistance of other police officers, he attempted to arrest Profulla. The latter pulled out a loaded Browning pistol and ran down the platform where a constable named Jamil Ahmed Khan, in spite of a bullet which just missed him, tackled him. Before the constable could secure him Profulla shot himself dead. Thus, although the assassins got clear away, they were both accounted for by the police within 48 hours.

SEARCHES IN CALCUTTA

Early on May 1st the news of the outrage reached Calcutta, and it was decided to search eight places on which suspicion had already fallen. The most important of these was a house and garden in Maniktolla, one of the North-Eastern suburbs of Calcutta, owned jointly by Arabindo Ghose, his brother Barindra Kumar Ghose, who proved to be the leader of the conspiracy, and two other brothers and a sister who were not implicated in it.

THE MANIKTOLLA GARDEN

The premises were surrounded in the early hours of the morning of May 2nd, and the raid was apparently entirely unexpected, as the leader of the gang and about a dozen other members were found within and arrested. Buried underground or stored in boxes at various places in the garden were a few guns and sporting rifles and eight revolvers, as well as a forge and other machinery for making bombs, and large quantities of [140] acids for preparing explosives. There was also one finished bomb ready for use, besides large quantities of picric acid already prepared, dynamite cartridges, and 25 lbs. of dynamite. In addition there was a large amount of printed matter and correspondence, including books upon explosives and military training. Marks of revolver bullets on targets of whitewash on the trees of the garden indicated that revolver shooting was also practised. The search in short showed that the garden was a regular school for practi-

cal instruction in revolutionary methods and in the manufacture of explosives, and a cyclostyled text-book was found giving in minute detailed instructions for preparing explosives and bombs. Further particulars regarding this interesting book are given in chapter on the literature of the revolution. (See page 61).

134, HARRISON ROAD

Next in importance was No. 134, Harrison Road, a small shop, separated only by a partition from a genuine chemist's shop next door, which had been open for about two months in a similar character. In the outer room a few bottles of medicine were kept on the shelves, but inside there was a large stock of explosives, six large bombs ready for use, and a quantity of electrical and chemical apparatus. Some of the explosives were deposited in steel trunks, and in one of these there was a picture from the *Illustrated London News* of the attempted assassination of the King and Queen of Spain on their wedding day, on the back of which there was a sketch of the bomb used. In another box was found a mass of correspondence and some revolutionary literature. Of the bombs discovered here six were loaded, four with picric acid, and the others unloaded. Five men were found on the premises and arrested.

INSTITUTION OF PROCEEDINGS

It is unnecessary to describe the other searches and arrests in detail; the result was that, on May 18th, 31 prisoners were brought before the District Magistrate of Alipore and charged under sections 19 and 20 of the Arms Act and sections, 121, 121A, 122, 123 and 124 of the Indian Penal Code and other sections of minor importance.

[141] THE GHOSE FAMILY

Immediately after their arrest many of the conspirators made statements giving details of the plot, but taking care to implicate no one whom they did not believe to be already in custody. The most interesting figures were Arabindo Ghose and his brother Barindra Kumar Ghose, sons of Dr. K. D. Ghose who had been Civil Surgeon of Khulna Town. Dr. Ghose had lived in England, and both these sons had partly English names. The full name of the former was Arabindo Ackroyd Ghose, Ackroyd being the maiden name of a Mrs. Beveridge who was a friend of his father.

while the birth certificate of Barindra, found in the Maniktolla Garden, showed that he was registered at Croydon, England, on 5th January, 1880, as Emmanuel, son of Dr. K. D. Ghose. Barindra was brought to India when he was only a year old, but Arabindo was brought up and educated entirely in England, and when he returned to India he had forgotten his mother tongue; even after he had been in Bengal some years he had to apologise to a meeting in Calcutta because he was unable to address them in Bengali. Arabindo was a youth of great literary ability and obtained a first class in the Classical Tripos at Cambridge. He passed into the Indian Civil Service, but was rejected in the riding test. Much embittered by this he came out to India and obtained an appointment as Vice-Principal of the Gaekwar's College, Baroda, on a salary of Rs. 400 a month. Here his brother Barindra stayed with him in 1901, and under his guidance studied works on political subjects, such as, from his own account, Carlyle's French Revolution, Digby's Prosperous British India, and Ranade's History of the Marathas. From these studies he concluded that he must do something for the independence of the country. With this object he returned to Bengal in 1902 and preached his views in many parts of the Province, starting clubs for *lathi* play in Dacca, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Dinajpur and other places, the object being, to use his own words, "to stir up young people to take part in revolutionary work and free the country from the foreign yoke." In 1903 he returned to Baroda and stayed for about a year with Arabindo. During this period he discussed politics with his brother, and he says "His opinion was the same as mine, with this [142] difference only that he did not participate in any of my mission."

BARIN GHOSE

In 1904 Barindra returned to Calcutta, and about this time Arabindo Ghose appears to have written the pamphlet called *Bhawani Mandir*, or the temple of Bhawani, which, as it really contains the germ of the Hindu revolutionary movement in Bengal, is re-printed in Chapter III. Barindra resumed his work in Bengal, and when the partition of Bengal took place in 1905 he states that he found the anti-partition agitation interested people more than revolutionary work, so he decided that he must get up a party of his own to rise against the Government. In 1906 he started the *Yugantar* newspaper (see page 69) along with Abi-

rash Chandra Bhattacharji and Bhupendra Nath Dutt. When the arrests of May 2nd, 1908, took place the former was found staying with Arabindo Ghose at 48, Grey Street, Calcutta ; the latter had been convicted in July, 1907, of sedition as editor of the *Yugantar*, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and so was out of the conspiracy for the time.

ARABINDO GHOSE

- In the same year, 1906, Arabindo gave up his appointment on Rs. 400 a month in Baroda and came to Calcutta as a Professor of History and Political Science in the newly started National College on Rs. 150 a month. In November of the same year the *Bande Mataram* newspaper was started, in English, by a company composed of Arabindo Ghose, Subodh Chandra Mulklick, Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Bepin Chandra Pal and others Arabindo Ghose was believed to be the editor, and was prosecuted as such for sedition in August, 1907 ; he was acquitted as the fact of his being editor was not proved to the satisfaction of the court, but the printer Apurba Krishna Bose was convicted and his conviction was upheld by the High Court, thus establishing the seditious character of the paper.

HEM CHANDRA DAS GOES TO PARIS

The revolutionary centre in the Maniktolla garden was set up in 1907, but before that the policy of manufacturing bombs and explosives had been settled as [143] the remarkable career of Hem Chandra Das will make clear. He had been a cattle-pound inspector in Midnapore District and was dismissed in 1906, when he took up national work. When his house was searched, on his arrest in May, 1908, a letter was found dated Chittagong, 22nd October, 1906, from his sister-in-law to his wife saying she heard he had left India "for some good work;" he is believed to have started about September. Further correspondence showed that he had gone to Paris, where he stayed for about a year and attended a mechanical workshop. In a letter from Paris to his wife, dated 5th July, 1907, he praised Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh, and asked how she would like her husband to be one of these heroes, and in another he mentioned that he had been to London and stayed at the "India House," as a guest of Shyamaji Krishnavarma, the notorious editor of the *Indian Sociologist*. He returned to India in January, 1908. The following curious

memoranda, obviously referring to him, were found in a note-book discovered in the Maniktolla Garden. "11th January, and onwards" and immediately below "U. D. to be kept here. H. D. to be looked up. They spend a week together. MSS from H. D." The point of these notes is that till Hem Das returned from France Ullaskar Dutt was the bomb-maker to the society. The cyclostyled manuscript bomb manual found in the Garden was evidently of French origin as the weights and measures were given in French units, and there was a table at the end showing how to convert these into English weights and measures. It was established that after his return Hem Chandra Das became the bomb expert to the society and was helped in his work by Ullaskar Dutt, and the plain meaning of the memoranda is that these two men were to spend a week together to enable Ullaskar Dutt to learn the work, and that the bomb manual was to be obtained from Hem Chandra Das.

THE RUSSIAN ANARCHIST

The attempt to derail the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal's special train on the 6th of December, 1907, had been noticed by the Paris Police, and on information obtained by them from a secret agent a memorandum [144] was prepared and communicated to the British Government; it amounted to this:—

- (1) That there was in Paris a Russian anarchist named Safranski, an ex-officer of Engineers, who was in touch with some Hindu students in that city, supposed to be Bengalis;
- (2) That Safranski possessed a manual on the manufacture and use of explosives, and that he was instructing the Hindus with the object of bringing about a change of rule in India by acts of terrorism;
- (3) That Safranski, being unable to communicate with his "camarades noirs" as he called them, except through an interpreter, was learning Hindustani at the École des Langues Orientales; and
- (4) It was suggested that the recent attempt to wreck the train of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was an outcome of this connection between Safranski and the Hindu students.

ENQUIRIES IN PARIS

In January, 1908, endeavours were made in Paris to obtain further details, and the Commissaire of Police who had obtained the information was interviewed by a British officer. He declared that the language of the memorandum was much too precise. His knowledge of Safranski's doings had been obtained from an informer, an acquaintance of Safranski; but this informer had never seen the Hindu students, nor did he know their names or residences; he had merely reported what Safranski had told him. The Commissaire himself had surmised that they must be Bengalis because Safranski had described them as "noirs" and the Commissaire was under the impression that natives of other parts of India were not black. The Commissaire said that it would be impossible to obtain any information about the identity of these Hindus, but if he were given the names of any Hindus in Paris he would endeavour to see whether they were in communication with Safranski. The latter however was most suspicious, and any questions by the informer would at [145] once put him on his guard and close this source of information. As mentioned above Hem Chandra Das was by this time back in India and this line of enquiry led to nothing. The only thing that could be verified for certain was that Safranski was actually a student at the École des Langues Orientales. But it appears now that the informer's account was a great deal nearer the truth than the Commissaire of Police imagined; it was given about four months before the discovery in the Maniktolla Garden of the bomb manual which, there is little doubt, was a translation of Safranski's.

UPEN BANERJI

Another important member of the society was Upendra Nath Banerji, born about 1879, who belonged to Gondalpara in French Chandernagore. He was a Brahmin and had studied Hindu and Western Philosophy for two years in an Ashram near Almora in the United Provinces. Returning home in 1905 he became a schoolmaster, and while thus employed he says "I took it into my head to serve the cause of my country by turning out the British Government and securing independence for our countrymen." Accordingly he came to Calcutta and joined the staff of the *Bande Mataram* newspaper at the end of 1906. He also

began to contribute articles to the *Yugantar* and so got to know Barindra Kumar Ghose who was also a contributor. In July, 1907, he went with Barin Ghose to the Maniktolla Garden and met some of the conspirators there. About this time he says, "I was actuated to free the country from the foreign yoke by starting a religious institution, or joining one, if any such institution existed, because I concluded in my mind that India would never be free until the feelings of the people were touched through moral and religious precepts." From September, 1907, to February, 1908, he wandered all through India in search of a *sadhu* of his way of thinking or a suitable institution, visiting Benares, Allahabad, Bombay, the Ganganath Temple near Baroda, Nepal and other places; but failing in his quest he returned to Calcutta and took up the work of recruiting, along with Barin Ghose, suitable boys for the secret society, and the initiation and education of the younger members. The subjects he taught were Political Economy, Political Science and [146] the Hindu religion. In short he occupied himself in carrying out the scheme laid down by Arabindo Ghose in the appendix to Bhawani Mandir. (See page 42.)

THE LEADERS OF THE CONSPIRACY

None of the other members of the society was of sufficient importance to require special mention; the organiser Barindra Kumar Ghose, the local bomb expert Ullaskar Dutt, the Paris-trained expert Hem Chandra Das and the preceptor Upendra Nath Banerji were the moving spirits and the most dangerous members, and from what has gone before, and from the chapter on the literature of the revolution, it will be apparent that the spirit animating the whole was to a great extent the spirit of Arabindo Ghose.

MURDER OF THE APPROVER

On August 19th, 1908, 30 persons were committed for trial, and a further batch of 7 on the 14th of September. Meanwhile on August 31st the approver in the case, Norendra Nath Gossain, was shot dead in jail by two of the accused Kanai Lal Dutt and Satyendra Nath Bose who were afterwards executed. The latter had been committed for trial separately so that there were originally 38 accused in all.

RESULT OF THE TRIAL

After a protracted trial in the Sessions Court judgement was delivered on May 6th, 1909; the court sentenced Barindra Kumar Ghose and Ullaskar Dutt to death, 10 others including Hem Chandra Das to transportation for life, and 7 others to minor sentences. Arabindo Ghose and 16 others were acquitted. On appeal to the High Court the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Carnuff, on November 23rd, 1909, upheld the convictions of Barin Ghose and 11 others, disagreed regarding 5 and acquitted one; during the hearing of the case one of the accused had died. The matter of the 5 accused was referred to a third judge who on 18th February, 1910, confirmed the conviction of two and acquitted the remaining three. The final result of the trial was that Barindra Kumar Ghose, Ullaskar Dutt, Hem Chandra Das and Upendra Nath Banerji were sentenced to transportation for life, three others to transportation for ten years, four [147] to transportation for seven years and three to rigorous imprisonment for 5 years.

The following is a summary of the sentences finally passed in this case :—

1. Barindra Kumar Ghose	...	Transportation for life.
2. Ullaskar Dutt	...	Transportation for life.
3. Hem Chandra Das	...	Transportation for life.
4. Upendra Nath Banerji	..	Transportation for life.
5. Bibhuti Bhusan Sircar	...	Transportation for 10 years.
6. Hrishikesh Kanjilal	...	Transportation for 10 years.
7. Indu Bhusan Roy	...	Transportation for 10 years.
8. Sudhir Kumar Sircar	...	Transportation for 7 years.
9. Abinash Chandra Bhattacharji	...	Transportation for 7 years.
10. Poresch Chandra Maulik	...	Transportation for 7 years.
11. Birendra Chandra Sen	...	Transportation for 7 years.
12. Sishir Kumar Ghose	...	Rigorous imprisonment for 5 years.
13. Nirapada Roy	...	Rigorous imprisonment for 5 years.
14. Sailendra Nath Bose	...	Rigorous imprisonment for 5 years.

ACQUITTAL OF ARABINDO GHOSE

The matter which aroused most interest in connection with the trial was the acquittal of Arabindo Ghose. Both moderate and extremist politicians in Bengal believed or affected to believe in his innocence; on the other hand the revolutionary section let

it be generally known, that if he were convicted the judge, who was believed to be taking leave, would never get away alive. There was certainly in the case against Arabindo Ghose a good deal to explain away. In the first place the Garden at Maniktolla, of which he was one of the joint owners, was being organised on the lines laid down by him in his [148] pamphlet *Bhawani Mandir*. A copy of this book in English, with the name Barin K. Ghose on the cover, was found in the possession of one of the conspirators, and other copies were found in the garden and at other revolutionary centres, showing that it was studied by the members.

RULES OF THE GARDEN CONSPIRACY

The character of the institution set up in the Garden rests not merely on inference or the statements of members but on documentary evidence. One of the note books found in the Garden contains the following :—

“Ashrama for giving a general intellectual and moral training to all new workers and a special training to those meant for missionary work.

A. General training to consist of—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Religious training. | History. |
| 2. Political training,— | Geography. |
| Junior class. | Indian economics. |
| 3. Physical training. | Revolutionary knowledge. |

Special training to be given at other departments
(Technical).

4. Knowledge of Hindi and Sanskrit and English
(Optional).

B. Special training of Missionaries—

1. Religious.
2. Political (advanced course).
3. Knowledge of Sanskrit, Hindi and English (Compulsory).
4. Thorough knowledge of Indian History, Geography and Revolutionary History of other countries. Good Library.

Factory work. Library Technical.

Only for specialists, students and general assistants.

[149] Under the head Political Courses was noted as follows—

Means and methods (to obtain)¹

Criticisms of their methods.²

(a) Colonial.

(b) Passive Resistance.

Philosophy of Revolution ;

(1) Requisites, men, arms and money.

How to get these three things.

The Modern Art of War.

Geography. Junior Class.—Thorough knowledge of Bengal and general knowledge of India.

Adv. Class.—Thorough knowledge of India.

The garden was therefore just such a place of worship of *Bhawani* as is described in the *Bhawani Mandir*, except that it was not in the hills but in a secluded garden in the suburbs of Calcutta. This fact by itself does not of course establish Arabindo's connection with the criminal side of the movement, but makes it on the whole improbable that he should not have known what was going on.

THE "SWEETS" LETTER

The next point against him was the celebrated "sweets" letter. Among his belongings when his house was searched was found the following notes :—

BENGAL CAMP, NEAR AJITS,
27th December, 1907.

DEAR BROTHER,

Now is the time. Please try and make them meet for our conference. We must have *sweets* all over India ready made for emergencies (*sic.*). I wait for your answer.

Your affectionate,
BARINDRA K. GHOSE.

[150] The 27th December, 1907, was a day of great excitement at Surat, in the Bombay Presidency, where the Congress was meeting at the time. An account of the proceedings is given elsewhere ; briefly what happened was that the Extremists attempted to dominate the Congress and failed. The Ajit referred to in the note is, no doubt, Ajit Singh, who had been deported from

(1) (Note.—This sentence was incomplete.)

(2) (Note.—This means the methods of the "Moderates.")

the Punjab in June, 1907, for sedition and was consequently an extremist hero, but this point need not be pressed. The important word is "sweets" seeing that this was one of the figurative expressions used by the Bengali revolutionary party for bombs (in Bengali *rasgoli*). In his judgment acquitting the accused the learned judge, after referring to the evidence regarding the discovery of the letter, said "It is suggested that the document is a forgery and it is argued that Sarat Dass is a forger. In fact Sarat Dass denies that he is a forger ; for the purposes of the argument it is not a matter of much moment whether he is or not. From his previous history, whether a forger himself or not, he doubtless would have no difficulty in getting hold of one. But to my mind the letter could not have been written to Arabindo by Barin. I don't take account of the argument that if both were at the same place one would probably not write to the other, or that the other would not have preserved the letter ; explanations can easily be found for both these points. But I judge from the internal evidence of the letter. Barin is the youngest of five brothers, Arabindo is the third. The assessors say that in such a case Barin could not have intended Arabindo by "Dear Brother" —that expression could only mean the eldest brother. If it meant Arabindo it would have been "Dear Sejda." That is a point on which I cannot question their opinions. But speaking for myself I cannot understand Barin signing his name in full if writing to Arabindo. In letters between Arabindo and other relations Barin is spoken of as Bari. The brothers were on friendly terms, they must have been if the prosecution theory is to be accepted that the visits to No. 23 were to Arabindo, and it is highly improbable that Barin would sign in this way writing to Arabindo. He might write to some one else and use the phrase "Dear Brother" corresponding to the use of "bhai" in the vernacular [151]. In such a case if it was intended to reach Arabindo the question suggests itself, if both brothers were at Surat why did not Barin write to Arabindo direct. That the word "emergencies" is spelt "imer-gencies" is nothing, for in ex. 667 Barin spells "philosophy" "phylosophy." Though then I find that the document was in fact in Arabindo's house on the 2nd May, it is of so suspicious a character that I hesitate to accept it. Experience tells us that in cases when spies are employed documents do find their way into the houses of suspected persons in a manner which cannot be explained by the accused."

If both the brothers had had only a Bengali education the opinion of the assessors would have deserved the greatest respect, but when it is remembered that Arabindo was much more at home in English than in Bengali and that Barin was himself no mean English scholar the improbability of the whole thing is considerably diminished. (Compare also the last extract on page 86).

EVIDENCE FROM THE NOTE BOOK

Reference has already been made to the note book found in the Garden containing entries about Hem Chandra Das and Ullaskar Dutt under the heading "11th January and onwards." Under the same heading there were also the following amongst other notes :—

1. "J. B. to be informed of A. G.'s movements".
2. "A. G.'s rules to be got out of him."
3. "Dr. Dhade to be kept in the garden and Ullas and A. G. and B. G. informed."

The most obvious interpretation of these initials is that A. G. stands for Arabindo Ghose, B. G. for Barin Ghose and J. B. for Jotin Banerji of whom something will be said later ; if this is correct it indicates that Arabindo was a very important member of the conspiracy.

ARABINDO'S CONNECTION WITH ABINASH

In the early part of 1908 Arabindo had been living at 23, Scott's Lane, Calcutta, but five or six days before the arrests took place he moved to the office of the *Navasakti* newspaper at 48, Grey Street. At both places Abinash Chandra Bhattacharji lived in the same house, employed, according to the defence, as a servant [152]. Abinash was found guilty in the conspiracy case and sentenced to transportation for seven years ; he had started the *Yugantar* newspaper along with Barin Ghose and Bhupendranath Dutt, and he was the publisher of *Bartaman Rananiti* (The Modern Art of War) and *Mukti kon pathe?* (Which way lies Salvation?) two of the favourite text-books of the revolutionary gang. It was certainly unfortunate that Arabindo employed him as a servant, and incredible that he should not know what he was about.

ARABINDO'S DEPARTURE FOR PONDICHERRY

As Arabindo was acquitted it is useless to pursue further the evidence against him. After his release in May, 1909, he pub-

lished it abroad that he had had a vision of Sri Krishna in jail, and had received advice and consolation from the god. He started a newspaper in English called the *Karmayogin* (Devotee of Action) which, as might have been expected, eventually overstepped the limits of the law, and in April, 1910, proceedings were instituted under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code against him and his printer Monmohan Ghose. Before the warrant could be executed he absconded to Pondicherry and has lived there since, devoting himself, according to his own account, principally to religious meditation.

JOTIN BANERJI AND BARODA

There remains the explanation of the note "J. B. to be informed of A. G.'s movements" found in the garden. Jotindra-nath Banerji, the person intended, was born about 1878 and belonged to Channa in the Burdwan District. He was educated at Bankipore and at Allahabad University. Thereafter he travelled about as a Brahmin *sanyasi* (ascetic) visiting many of the sacred places in India. In 1899 he came to Baroda and enlisted in the 4th Baroda Infantry, and after a year he was transferred to the Cavalry branch and put into the Gaekwar's Bodyguard. Here he became a great friend of Madhava B. Jadhav, the Adjutant of the Bodyguard, and also of Arabindo Ghose who lived in M. B. Jadhav's house, and he claims to have been the first person to inspire Arabindo with his political views. He says "We had [153] many discussions as to how we could best secure for India a more suitable Government than the present one, and I convinced Arabindo that it was only by force that such a Government could be obtained." After two years at Baroda he resigned the Bodyguard and went to Calcutta, where he put his ideas into practice by setting up a school for Physical Culture and Bicycle Riding in Circular Road, and while engaged in this he gave his pupils the benefit of his political views. On his father's death in 1903 he became a *sanyasi*, adopting the name Niralamba Brahmachari, and went round the holy places in the Himalayas, Nepal, Tibet and Garhwal, ending up in 1906 at Almora in the United Provinces. He then wandered on to the Punjab, Peshawar and Kashmir returning home to Channa in December, 1907. There was some evidence connecting him with the Maniktolla Conspiracy, amongst other things a drill-book found in the Garden bearing the name and date "M. B. Jadhav, 17-1-97", and

he was put on his trial but discharged. The similarity of the career of this militant monk with that of Upendra Nath Banerji, the preceptor of the Maniktolla institution, is very striking, and it illustrates well the combination of religion and politics on which the revolutionary movement centred in the Maniktolla Garden was based. It also indicates the extent to which the Calcutta conspirators were indebted to Baroda.

CENTRE OF CONSPIRACY SHIFTED TO DACCA

The success of the Maniktolla Conspiracy Case broke up the Calcutta branch of the revolutionary movement for the time, and the centre of interest was shifted to Dacca where the Anusilan Samiti was becoming active and dangerous. ❖

THE ANUSILAN SAMITI OF DACCA

DECISION OF THE HIGH COURT

In the appeal in what is known as the Dacca Conspiracy Case Mr. Justice Harington arrived at the following conclusion regarding this society :—

“The result of the oral and documentary evidence is to show that the Dacca Anusilan Samiti was formed having for its ostensible object the improvement of Bengali youth by the promotion of discipline and physical exercise—but that, behind this ostensible and open object, there was a secret object known to those in positions of importance and authority but not necessarily confided to the younger and less dependable members. That secret object was to bring about a revolution and subvert the Government by force, and to this end the Samiti followed the lines laid down in the Mukti Kon Pathe both in the system on which it was founded, and, in one case at least, in the nature of the crime against property which its members committed.”

ORIGIN OF THE ANUSILAN SAMITI

The origin of the Anusilan Samiti (Improvement Society) can be traced to a visit paid to Dacca in November, 1905, by Bepin Chandra Pal and a Calcutta barrister the late P. N. Mitter. They delivered speeches on national independence to meetings consisting mostly of students, and at the close of one of them asked those who were willing to sacrifice themselves for their country to step forward. Some 80 persons responded, one of the most prominent of whom was Pulin Behari Das, a failed B.A. of the Calcutta University, who afterwards became head of the Samiti. Not long after this Pulin started teaching a small number of young men lathi-play and drill, but it is doubtful whether the society was given its name at that time.

[155] MARATHA INFLUENCE

The movement in Bengal to turn the English out of India by the use of physical force received a powerful impetus in 1906, when a party of Maratha agitators from Bombay and the Cen-

tral Provinces, including B. G. Tilak of Poona and his friend G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti, came to Calcutta and held a Shivaji Festival and Exhibition on the 4th, 5th and 6th of June. The Shivaji Festival had been for many years an annual institution in the Maratha country, but this was the first attempt to introduce it amongst the Bengalis. There is good reason to believe that the physical force idea had also been suggested to the Bengal extremists by a Japanese at a small private meeting in 1905; certainly the example of Japan was frequently quoted by nationalist writers and speakers.

USE OF FORCE ADVOCATED

The Shivaji Festival was followed immediately by the formation of a small society called the *Sakti Samiti* (Force Society) in Calcutta. A speech delivered at a meeting held in Beadon Square on the 20th of June, 1906, under the auspices of this society shows the influences at work. The chief speaker, Lalit Mohan Ghosal, said that while all the nations of the world, even the Chinese and the Japanese, were growing more independent and prosperous, the people of India were day by day being reduced to slavery. Only about 27 years ago the Japanese were frequently beaten in their own country by European soldiers and sailors. They endured the humiliation with forbearance while they secretly endeavoured to gain the requisite strength and skill. They began by employing European soldiers to teach a few Japanese boxing and wrestling. In a short time all the Japanese became well versed in those arts, and ever after were able to return two blows for every one they received. In the same way the members of the *Sakti Samiti* should quietly accumulate strength, and show their prowess only when they had attained perfect mastery in the arts of wrestling and boxing.

INFLUENCE OF B. C. PAL

Bepin Chandra Pal was secretary and P. N. Mitter a member of the Shivaji Festival Committee in Calcutta, and in [156] September of the same year the former went to Dacca again and delivered nationalist speeches. On the occasion of a third visit in March, 1907, he was provided with a so-called guard, some of whom wore badges bearing the name Anusilan Samiti. It is not clear exactly when this name was adopted, but the facts established are that Pulin Behari Das started lathi-play and drill as

the result of B. C. Pal's first visit, and, having given his band of pupils the name Anusilan Samiti, paid him the compliment of providing a guard when he came to Dacca for the third time.

THE SAMITI AND THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

At first the Anusilan Samiti followed the principles laid down in the speech quoted above by working quietly so as not to attract attention. One of the rules of the society was :—

“This Samiti has no open relationship of any kind with popular and outward swadeshi, that is (the boycott of) *belati* (European) articles, clothes, salt, sugar, etc. To be mixed up in quarrels or disputes, or implicated in litigation about such affairs is entirely against the principles of this Samiti. Unless the foreigners and the foreign king are driven out it is impossible altogether to drive out foreign goods. It is proper, and it is the command of the Samiti for each individual to use swadeshi goods as much as possible without any show. It is absolutely against the principles of the Samiti to exceed this limit, even in the slightest degree, with regard to the popular swadeshi.”

ORGANISATION OF SAMITIS

Information was gradually collected about the Society, but it was not till November, 1908, when the headquarters were searched in connection with a prosecution, that full details of the organisation were obtained. It consisted of a central Samiti with headquarters at Dacca and subordinate samitis in many towns and villages not only in the Dacca district but in the districts of Mymensingh, Tippera, Faridpur, Dinajpur, Sylhet and Pabna. The central Samiti was under the personal control of Pulin Behari Das. To keep the village samitis up to the [157] mark *paridarshaks* (inspectors) were appointed, and five copies were found of a document called the *Paridarshak* in which their duties were laid down. Apparently it was too confidential to print as the copies were all in manuscript, one being in the handwriting of Pulin Behari Das himself. Those who were appointed inspectors received a formal authority under the signature of Pulin Behari Das; a few specimens of this form were found already filled in, and 19 were signed but had the space for the inspector's name blank.

ENROLMENT

The *Paridarshak* indicates clearly how the Samiti was to be managed. Taking first the matter of recruitment, the orders on this subject were:—

“When a new person comes to enrol himself as a member, he will first be required to give his antecedents, to say whether he had previously enrolled himself as a member of any other Samiti and to bind himself by oath to observe all the rules of the Samiti, and then he may be admitted into the Samiti. The address, place of residence, etc., of the in-coming member are to be legibly put down in the admission book. The following are the points on which information by way of introduction is to be obtained:—

1. Name.
2. Date.
3. Age.
4. Religion and nationality.
5. Father's name and occupation.
6. Guardian's name and occupation or real and local guardian.
7. Akhara.
8. Full address of present residence.
9. Full address of permanent home.
10. Education, school, class occupation, etc.

When anyone who was a member of any of the Samitis affiliated to this Samiti wants to secure a fresh admittance [158] for himself, his case must be thoroughly inquired into by examining his badge. etc., and his name then entered in the attendance register, and not in the admission book. No one is to be admitted who is a non-Hindu or who has any spite against the Hindus.”

RULES OF THE SAMITI

The following passages translated from the *Paridarshak* indicate how local feeling was to be conciliated, the members of the Samiti were to be bound together by vows or if necessary by terrorism, and local topographical details were to be studied and carefully recorded. The last is important, not only as a preparation for the guerilla warfare which the leaders hoped to set on foot, but for the less ambitious scheme of armed dacoities which they actually practised. In all 944 printed forms for recording

this detailed information were discovered; three of them were discovered; three of them were already filled in with carefully drawn maps attached.

1. "You should, first of all, express great sympathy with all matters which are particularly dear to the people of the locality, and then gradually draw their attention towards our object. In this connection you must explain to them that without unity and the power of protecting one's self we cannot achieve success in any work; and that there can be no unity unless we remain under the guidance of one leader."

* * *

2. "In no country and at no time has a powerful body or military organisation been formed, nor can it ever be formed without hard and fast rules. In particular learning which may be used against the teacher can never be imparted without considering the fitness of the recipient."

3. "Even those who make vows without understanding their significance can be kept under control by the strength of the vows. Especially in constantly remembering the vows, and being constantly guided by these rules, the mind becomes of itself in a fit condition for obeying the vows."

4. "Those who would separate themselves from the Samiti from a failure to obey the vows must be brought back under the Samiti by stratagem or force or artifice."

5. "Brief notes shall be recorded about the enthusiasm, enterprise, capacity for work, opportunity, convenience, inconvenience, [159] impediments, obstacles, and men, good and bad, in every village, and also about the natural features, such as roads, ghats, fields, climate, houses, etc."

* * *

6. "Those members who are disobedient to the Sampadak, or are in any other way breaking their vows, must be reminded of the vows taken by them, and told in sweet words that if they want to be known as Hindu *Santans* they must not break these vows; but if that proves unsuccessful then recourse must be had to other methods."

7. "In those places where there is a probability or where the first signs are visible, of a creation of different factions against our Samiti, the leaders of all such factions should, in the first instance, be called and have explained to them in sweet words that to create factions at this time is most improper and fatal."

* * *

8. "Threats should be held out to those who, disregarding requests

and advice of all kinds, are wilfully trying to harm the Samiti; and if opportunity occurs an attempt will also have to be made to retaliate."

9. "Inquiry should be made in all Samitis to see if any one, by any trick or deception, is learning to play without taking the vows; and if any one is so detected then proper preventive measures should be taken and he must be made to take the vows; if he refuses to take the vows, then arrangements will have to be made for the complete destruction of his knowledge."

10. "Things which are particularly important should not be sent to the Pradhan Sampadak by post. They should be sent to one's own trustworthy relative, who should see that it reaches the Pradhan Sampadak."

(Note:—The Sampadak, or Secretary, was the head of the village Samiti; the Pradhan Sampadak, or Head Secretary, was either Pulin Behari Das himself or perhaps one of the heads of local groups of Samitis which it was apparently intended to form.)

EXCLUSION OF MAHOMEDANS

The concluding portion of the *Paridarshak* is taken up with a discussion of why Mahomedans are not admitted to the Samiti. The writer's conclusions are :—

"So far as can be foreseen, it is our firm belief that within a year or two the entire Mahomedan nation will [160] become submissive to the Hindus. But if the Hindus then abandon their firmness and national glory, and sink so low as to court friendship with the Mahomedans by being hand in glove with them, the Mahomedans will be puffed up and no good but only evil will be brought about. That nation which cannot preserve its national glory, national greatness and dignity, and national firmness, steadfastness and pride, and on the contrary exhibits levity, baseness and waywardness can never be respected and worshipped by other nations. But in no circumstances would it be proper to show hostile feelings towards, or to deal unjustly with the Musalmans as a nation."

THE DUTIES OF SECRETARIES

Many copies were also found of a printed document treating of the duties of Secretaries. It was very much on the lines of the *Paridarshak* but contained some additional instructions such as that each member must provide his own *lathi*, and the Secretary must see that a certain number of lathis were always in

stock in each *akhara* (the place where *lanhi*-play, etc., was practised). It also gave a curriculum of military training, and laid down that each band of ten should have a separate leader called *dalapati* who was responsible for their attendance and training.

THE PRELIMINARY VOW

Frequent reference is made above to the vows to be taken by the members; there were two of these, the *Adya Pratijnya* or first vow and the *Antya Pratijnya* or final vow. The former consisted of 21 separate promises, the most important being that the member would never sever his connection with the Samiti, would report any probability of harm to the Samiti and any case in which a member broke his vow, would obey the orders of the authorities and conceal nothing from them, and would never neglect gymnastics or drill or teach them to any non-member. Many of the promises were quite innocuous and there was no secret about this vow, copies of which were ordered to be posted up at the various Samitis for the information of the public; over 1,000 printed copies were found at headquarters.

[161] THE FINAL VOW

The final vow was a more serious matter and was not for publication. It contained six clauses, as follows :—

1. I will not disclose any secret matter of the Samiti to any one, and will never discuss these matters unnecessarily.
2. I will never act contrary to the system of work of the Samiti. I will always remain subject to the head of the Samiti. I will instantly and thoroughly carry out whatever orders he may pass from time to time.
3. I will never change my place of residence without informing the head about it. I will not keep secret from the head where and how I am at a particular time. I will instantly inform the head should the existence of any conspiracy against the Samiti come to my knowledge, and under his orders try to remedy it.
4. I will come back in obedience to the head's command, no matter in what state I may happen to be at the time. But if any serious physical or natural cause prevents my turning up at the proper time I

will at once apply to the head, bringing the matter to his notice, and return as soon as the impediment is got over.

5. I will not consider any kind of work disgraceful. For the sake of the Samiti's work, I will not feel hatred, shame or fear. I will entirely rid myself of the fear of public censure. I will not cherish even a grain of the desire of attaining celebrity. I will not be jealous of anyone, seeing him outstep me and acquire fame. Caring neither for fame nor opprobrium and quite giving up wrangling and loquacity, I will go on discharging my duties with seriousness, patience and perseverance, and never shrink from exhibiting self-abnegation, self-sacrifice and liberality for the work of the Samiti.
6. I shall not be at liberty to teach those subjects with respect to which I may receive instruction [162] in this Samiti, being bound by oath, to anyone save to those persons who are bound by oath as regards those subjects.

SPECIAL VOW BEFORE THE GODDESS KALI

After taking the first vow a member was on probation and could not be taught *lathi*-play beyond a certain stage ; it was only on taking the final vow that the became a full member of the society. There was also a Special Vow which was mounted on pasteboard and hung up in headquarters beside a Kali Murti, a picture of the goddess Kali in her most repulsive form. The member taking it promised among other things to be bound by no tie to father, mother, relatives, kinsmen, friends, hearth or home until the mission of the Samiti was fulfilled. It was probably not intended for all members of the society, but only to be used when a youth had to be specially wound up for some desperate enterprise. The vow binds him not to hesitate to make any sacrifice in the discharge of "the work", and to perform all the duties of the Samiti, under the order of the authorities, without offering any excuse. It is interesting to notice that this special vow is practically a paraphrase of the vow taken by the *Santans*, or Children, in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel *Ananda Math* (See page 32). The Samiti vow does not include the promises to hand over all earnings to the society, to take up

arms and fight for religion, and never to fly from the battlefield, which were made by the Children in the novel, but the context, would be well known to most of the members. The issue register showed that the works of Bankim Chandra were amongst the most popular books in the Samiti library, and the name *Anusilan* itself was taken from the title of one of his works.

DRILL AND LATHI-PLAY

Great importance was attached by the samiti leaders to drill and *lathi*-play, and 185 books on the latter subject were found in the Dacca Samiti. *Lathi*-play was divided into three subjects, dagger, small lathi and big lathi, but a notebook found in the possession of one of the original members in September, 1907, and the [163] rules themselves which referred to the sharp edge, and the blunt edge, showed that the small lathi was really a substitute for a sword. It was about 38 inches long and quite harmless in itself. The big lathi was what is generally meant by the word lathi in Bengal, a stout male bamboo over 5 feet long, the usual weapon of offence and defence, and very formidable in competent hands. The rules of play were elaborate and detailed, but not otherwise remarkable, and the lathi-play would have been harmless enough if it had not been undertaken as a preparation for armed dacoity, and eventually for guerilla warfare, on the lines laid down in the revolutionary text-books Bartaman Rananiti and Mukti Kon Pathe.

DISCIPLINE AND INSPECTION

At the headquarters of the Samiti in Dacca the strictest discipline was maintained; sentries were posted day and night, and in case any member might give away the secrets of the society none of them was allowed to go out alone nor were the same persons allowed to go out together too frequently. The head of the Samiti, Pulin Behari Das, had a private room of his own to which only his most trusted lieutenants were admitted; it was next to the room known as the Gita class-room, and it was found that this, religious branch of the member's training was undertaken by him. Pulin was an expert in *lathi*, sword and dagger play, in all of which he had been trained by Murtaza of Calcutta (see page 7), and he held regular classes of instruction in these arts. He also went about inspecting the *lathi*-play of the subordinate Samitis in other towns, and organised mock fights and competitions for which medals and prizes were given.

PREVIOUS HISTORY OF PULIN BEHARI DAS

Pulin first came into open conflict with the authorities in November, 1907, on account of an affray between members of his society and some Mahomedans. He and four others were convicted and sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment and also bound down to keep the peace for two years, but on appeal the sentences were reduced to a fine of Rs. 15 in each case and the order binding them down was set aside. Although, as we have [164] seen, the rules of the society required the members not to get mixed up with the popular swadeshi movement these bands of young men, armed with *lathis*, appeared frequently in the bazars and terrorised both the shop-keepers who sold foreign goods and any would-be purchasers, and so effective were their methods that the victims did not even dare to complain.

THE BARRAH DACOITY

In June, 1908, a dacoity took-place at Barrah in the Dacca district in which property valued at Rs. 26,000 was stolen. The dacoits, who acted with extraordinary boldness, were armed with guns and revolvers, and from the wounds received by persons whom they shot, as well as from marks on the walls of the house they robbed, it appeared that they had both ball and buckshot cartridges. On leaving the house with their booty they proceeded to two boats which were waiting, and before embarking they fired at the villagers and killed a chowkidar, named Bishamber, and a villager, named Bohar Ali, and wounded several others. They were pursued by a body of villagers and by a head-constable and two constables who seized some of their party on the shore. Thereupon the rest of the dacoits jumped out of their boats, fired at the villagers and rescued their companions. At this point two men, Gadoo Sheikh and Esaf Bepari, were wounded. Later, being hard pressed by their pursuers, they abandoned one boat and proceeded in the other, firing indiscriminately at the crowd which was following and killing another villager. Some evidence was obtained against seven prominent members of the Anusilan Samiti in connection with this crime, but they all absconded, and such was the state of terrorism in the country that little could be done. Four persons were eventually committed for trial, but had to be acquitted. A similar dacoity at Naria, in the Faridpur district, in October, 1908, was proved in the Dacca Conspiracy Case to be the work of the Samiti.

MURDER OF SUKUMAR CHAKRAVARTI

The fears of those who dreaded the vengeance of the Samiti were not groundless, as the following incident shows. On November 4th, 1908, a charge of [165] kidnapping a minor boy was made against Pulin Behari Das. In the course of the enquiries the particular member who had enticed the boy into the Samiti, Sukumar Chakravarti, was arrested at his house, where he made a statement to the police, and bound over to come before the District Magistrate on November, 12th. He did not appear, and next morning his decapitated and mutilated body was found outside the town of Dacca. In the circumstances there was practically no doubt that he was murdered by members of the Samiti, but no clue was ever obtained.

ANUSILAN SAMITI DECLARED AN UNLAWFUL ASSOCIATION

This case, however, led to a thorough search of the premises of the Samiti on 15th November, 1908, when documents were discovered from which this account of the Samiti has been compiled. It was in short a secret society intended to pave the way to open revolution, and by the end of the year so much evidence of its sinister activities had been obtained that it was declared in January, 1909, an unlawful association under the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908. In the previous month Pulin Behari Das and one of his most prominent associates, Bhupesh Chandra Nag, had been deported from Bengal and locked up under Regulation III of 1818, and the effect of these two measures was to break up the Anusilan Samiti as an openly organised body. But the members continued to work in secret, and the methods of the society, particularly terrorism and the collection of money for revolutionary purposes by dacoity, were not abandoned.

OTHER SAMITIS DECLARED UNLAWFUL

At the same time four other societies in Eastern Bengal of a similar kind were declared unlawful, the Swadesh Bhandap Samiti of Barisal, the Brati Samiti of Faridpur, and the Surhid Samiti and Sadhana Samaj of Mymensingh. They were of comparatively minor importance, and had not the elaborate and widespread organisation of the Anusilan Samiti. These measures had a temporary effect in checking revolutionary crime. Starting

with the Barraah dacoity in June, 1908, and taking political dacoities and murders together, six [166] major outrages were perpetrated in that year. In the first half of 1909 nothing happened till June, when the brother of an informer was murdered at Faridpur, and except for the doubtful case of the robbery of three nautch girls in July, to which no clue was obtained, there was no political robbery till October, followed by three dacoities in November and December. Pulin Behari Das was released in February, 1910, and returned to Dacca, but except for a small dacoity in the Bakarganj district in March there was no serious outrage till the attempt to murder an Inspector of Police in Dacca town on September 1st. The inspector was an important witness in the Dacca Conspiracy Case whose evidence had not then been recorded.

DACCA CONSPIRACY CASE

The Dacca Conspiracy case was instituted in July, 1910, and Pulin Behari Das and 43 others were put on their trial under sections 121A, 122 and 123 of the Indian Penal Code. The case resolved itself into an investigation of the Anusilan Samiti, with the general result indicated in the opening paragraph of this chapter. 36 persons were convicted, and of these 35 appealed to the High Court; in April, 1912, 14 of the convictions were upheld, but the sentences were considerably reduced. Pulin Behari Das was sentenced to transportation for seven years, and two of his most prominent followers Ashutosh Das Gupta and Jotirmoy Roy to six years each.

THE BARISAL CONSPIRACY CASE

Besides the 44 persons prosecuted there were, of course, many others who had undoubtedly taken part in dacoities and murders but against whom, owing to the state of terrorism created by the Samiti, evidence sufficient for a prosecution could not be obtained; seeing that in the end only 14 persons were convicted and the highest sentence imposed was only seven years the dacoity gangs could not be blamed for thinking that they had had a very fair run for their money. Accordingly, although the headquarters in Dacca was broken up as the result of this case the branch samitis elsewhere continued their work, and even in Dacca itself the remaining members of the gang were not idle. The centre of activity, however, was transferred to Barisal, where

there was a flourishing [167] branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and evidence connecting this body with numerous dacoities was gradually collected and the Barisal conspiracy case started. In May, 1913, sanction was given by the Government of Bengal for the prosecution of 44 persons of whom 37 were arrested; 2 were made approvers and 9 were discharged at various stages in the case and the trial of the remaining 26 proceeded before the Sessions Judge of Bakarganj. While the case was being heard the Government of Bengal, having regard to the unsatisfactory result of the Dacca case, took the unusual course of making a compromise with the accused, in consequence of which 12 of them pleaded guilty to the charges and the remaining 14 were discharged. In January, 1914, those who pleaded guilty were convicted under Section 121-A Indian Penal Code; two were sentenced to 12 years' transportation, three to 10 years and two to 7 years, three to imprisonment for 4 years and two to 2 years.

THE BARISAL SUPPLEMENTARY CONSPIRACY CASE

Of those who had absconded six were arrested at various dates towards the end of 1914 and placed on their trial in a supplementary case. One who pleaded guilty was sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and after a lengthy trial the remaining five were convicted in November, 1915, one being sentenced to 15 years' transportation and the remainder to 10 years. They appealed to the High Court which acquitted two, reduced the sentence of 15 years to 10 and one of the sentences of 10 years to 7. and dismissed one of the appeals.

FINDINGS OF THE HIGH COURT

In the course of their judgement the learned judges of the High Court remarked :—

“The facts which we find proved regarding the existence of the samiti and its objects are shortly as follows :—This Barisal Samiti was an offshoot of the Anusilan Samiti in Dacca, which came to an end after the trial of the Dacca conspiracy case and the dispersal of its prominent members. It was active in Barisal, Dacca, and other [168] places. While its leaders professed to inculcate religious and high moral principles, its aims and objects were in the main revolutionary, to drive the English from the country and to start some form of national government. The most important oral evidence on this part of the case is that of

the three approvers, Rajani Kanta Das, Girindra Mohan Das, and Priya Nath Acharji. They are so amply corroborated in their general account of the samiti as to leave no doubt of the substantial accuracy of their statements. The most incriminating documents have been found.

* * *

“The operations of the samiti of which we have heard most in this case are those which took place at or from Sonarang. In 1910, Pulin Behari Das, who had then returned from deportation, ordered the Anusilan Samiti generally and Priya Nath and Romesh Acharji in particular to separate from the Sadhana Sampradaya, of which Hemendra Acharji was the leader. The separation took place accordingly, and at Pulin’s order Priya Nath and Romesh Acharji gave up their studies and became masters of the National School at Sonarang. The Head Master, proprietor and Secretary was one Makhan Lal Sen, and the school appears to have become the centre, if not the headquarters, of the samiti, all the masters and several of the students being members. It was argued that it was most improbable that Makhan Lal Sen, who was said to be a man of the highest integrity and to have written a valuable moral treatise or scheme book, would countenance such a state of affairs. When we enquired what he was doing and why he had not come forward as a witness to character for the defence, we were informed by the appellants’ Counsel that he had since been interned under the Defence of India Act. We must not therefore place too much reliance on his alleged respectability. There can be no doubt whatever that a number of the dacoities put forward as overt acts in proof of this conspiracy were engineered and carried out from the Sonarang National School, which, by the way, was closed soon after the Suakair dacoity, which was committed on the 31st March, 1911.

[169] It will be sufficient for our purpose here merely to enumerate the dacoities and other offences which have been found by the Sessions Judge to be overt acts of this samiti. There is no doubt whatever that these various occurrences took place, and the evidence of the approvers has been so amply corroborated with regard to them as to leave no doubt that they were the work of this samiti. They were :—

- (1) The Haldia Hat dacoity, 30th September, 1910.
- (2) The Kalargaon dacoity, 7th November, 1910.
- (3) The Dadpur dacoity, 30th November, 1910.
- (4) The Panditshar dacoity, 3rd February, 1911.
- (5) The Gaodia dacoity, 20th February, 1911.
- (6) The Suakair dacoity, 31st March, 1911.
- (7) Reconnoitring for a dacoity at Madarganj, 5th June, 1911.
- (8) The Golakpur gun theft, 20th July, 1911.
- (9) The Kawakuri dacoity, 20th April, 1912.
- (10) The Birangal dacoity, 23rd May, 1912.
- (11) The Panam dacoity, 10th July, 1912.
- (12) The murder of Sarada Chakrabarti in July, 1912.
- (13) The Comilla town dacoity, 1st November, 1912.
- (14) The Nangalband dacoity, 14th November, 1912.

Such in brief outline is a statement of the case established as regards the samiti generally”.

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

These prosecutions did not cause any marked diminution in revolutionary crime in the Eastern districts of Bengal, and it was not till resort was had to the provisions of the Defence of India Act, under which the most dangerous characters were shut up and their followers had their choice of residence restricted, that any impression was made on the gangs which carried on the traditions of the Anusilan Samiti and adopted the methods of organisation of that society.

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While the course of revolutionary crime in Bengal can be easily traced to a continuous series of interconnected conspiracies, similar outbreaks in other parts of India have been apparently more sporadic in character. This is due to the fact that, while the conspiracies have been continuous, their centres have shifted from India to Europe and America. Like the revolutionaries of other countries the Indian revolutionaries found for some years an asylum in London, and the establishment of a centre there dates from the beginning of 1905.

KRISHNAVARMA

The original head of the conspiracy calls himself Shyamaji Krishnavarma. He was born at Mandvi, in Kathiawar, in 1857, the son of a poor *bania* (merchant of the Bhonsle caste named Krishna, and he afterwards added Varma to his name in order to pass himself off as a Kshatriya, which he is not. In 1879 he came to England and was taken up by Professor Monier Williams to whom he had taught Sanskrit in Bombay. He graduated from Balliol College in 1882 and was called to the Bar in 1884. Returning to India he held high posts in one or two Native States, but was dismissed from Junagadh in September, 1895, and after this failed in his intrigues to obtain re-employment in Udaipur, where he had been a member of the State Council from 1893 to January, 1895. Colonel Curzon-Wyllie was appointed Resident at Udaipur in March, 1894, and was instrumental in turning Krishnavarma out of the State at the beginning of 1895, and successfully opposed his return to State service in September of the same year. Krishnavarma, however, obtained employment in the private service of the Maharana, and when Lord Elgin visited Udaipur in November, 1896, Colonel Curzon-Wyllie refused to allow him to be presented at the Viceregal Durbar. Next year Krishnavarma left India and returned to London. It was the year of the Poona murders (see Chapter II), and according [171] to a statement afterwards made in his own paper and quoted below his departure was not unconnected with the arrests made at the

time, particularly the deportation under Regulation III of 1818 of two prominent Poona Brahmins, the Natu brothers.

INDIA HOME RULE SOCIETY

For some time Krishnavarma lived in obscurity, but in January, 1905, he started the "India Home Rule Society," appointed himself president and issued the first number of the *Indian Sociologist*, a penny monthly, as the organ of the Society. He described it in his paper as follows :—

"The new Society is the outcome of a suggestion made by a high-minded English gentleman, who has devoted a lifetime to the study of India, and whom all cultured and patriotic Indians regard as the champion of their rights. The object of the Society is to secure Home Rule for India, and to carry on a genuine Indian propaganda in this country by all practicable means." It afterwards transpired that Mr. H. M. Hyndman was the high-minded English gentleman referred to.

KRISHNAVARMA'S FELLOWSHIPS

In the *Indian Sociologist* for January, 1905, Krishnavarma announced that he proposed to found five travelling fellowships of Rs. 2,000 each "for enabling Indian graduates to finish their education in England and to qualify themselves for an independent profession." One of the conditions to be observed was the following : "Each candidate elected as Fellow under this scheme shall have completed the eighteenth year of his age, and shall solemnly declare that after his return to India he shall not accept any post, office, emoluments, or service under the British Government." The proposal was first made in a letter, dated 8th December, 1904, to Sir William Wedderburn, which was intended to be read out at the next meeting of the Indian National Congress. This was not done for reasons given in a letter which Sir William permitted to be published and which contained the following :— "I should have been glad to make known to the Assembly your generous offer; but without your permission I did not feel at liberty to omit a part of the letter; [172] and the second paragraph contained such severe denunciation of the Indian Government that it seemed inexpedient for me to read that part publicly in the Congress, considering how important it is for the Congress to maintain its character for loyalty and moderation. * * * * * Allow me to thank you for the honour you did me in selecting

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me to make known your public-spirited proposals. I regret that I was unable to carry out your wishes. If you desire it, I shall be happy to confer with you as regards any further proceedings as to the proposed Fellowships." An examination of the scheme shows that there was nothing generous about it. The holder had to insure his life for Rs. 5,000, assign the policy to Krishnavarma and promise to repay the whole Rs. 2,000 within ten years with interest at 4 per cent. He also had to undertake to reside for at least six months every year in a home or hostel to be established in London by Krishnavarma. This scholarship scheme was naturally not a success, but the hostel, under the name of "India House," was duly opened by Mr. Hyndman on 1st July, 1905, at 65, Cromwell Avenue, Highgate.

MUTINY CELEBRATION

The first commemoration in London of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 took the form of a dinner to Krishnavarma on the 9th of May, 1905, the eve of the Mutiny anniversary, at the Indian Restaurant, Shaftesbury Avenue. The chair was taken by J. M. Parikh, an Indian barrister-at-law, and the following, according to Mr. Hyndman's paper *Justice*, were among the speeches delivered.

"Mr. Chatterji, in answering to the toast, said the future of their country depended on their political emancipation. Before that could be secured they would have to rise up against their oppressors and drive them out of the land. Light went out of India when freedom was taken away. Their object of meeting was the furtherance of Mr. Shyamaji Krishnavarma's scheme and he hoped to see a new day dawn on a new India.

"Dr. Pereira was called upon by the chairman to reply to the toast, and in a clear calm speech the doctor intimated that though the idea of blood was repulsive to educated men it was only by blood that India could be [173] freed. If they had to fight for freedom and die it was more noble than to live the life of slaves. 30,000,000 had died of famine and destitution under the most damnable despotism of all time. What they would in the future want were scholarships for military knowledge—all depended on a knowledge of guns and rifles and bayonets. Their Japanese friends had shown them that."

The Mutiny celebration after this became an annual affair;

the following is a copy of the invitation card printed in red ink which was issued on a later occasion.

Bande Mataram

To Commemorate the Anniversary of

The

INDIAN NATIONAL RISING

of 1857,

**A MEETING OF INDIANS IN
ENGLAND**

will be held at

INDIA HOUSE

65, Cromwell Avenue, Highgate N.

On Sunday the 10th of May, 1908,

at 4 p.m. precisely.

You and all your Indian friends are cordially invited
to be present.

NEW SCHOLARSHIP SCHEME

The first scholarship scheme being a failure Krishnavarma announced a new scheme in December, 1905, after consulting B. G. Tilak of Poona and Bepin Chandra Pal of Calcutta. He now proposed to establish "six lecturships of Rs. 1,000 each for enabling authors, journalists and other qualified Indians to visit Europe, America and other parts of the world beyond the [174] limits of India, so as to equip themselves efficiently for the work of spreading among the people of India a knowledge of freedom and national unity." He also published a letter from S. R. Rana of Paris who offered three travelling fellowships of Rs. 2,000 each to be called after Rana Partab Singh, Shivaji and some distinguished Mahomedan ruler.

V. D. SAVARKAR

By means of these offers Krishnavarma collected a few recruits of whom the most important was Vinayak Damodar

Savarkar, a Konkanasth Brahmin by caste, born about 1883, the son of a small landowner and money-lender of Bhajur in the Nasik district of Bombay. He was a youth of great talent, and obtained the B.A. degree from the Fergusson College, Poona. Nasik is one of the holy cities of the West of India and has long been a centre of Brahmin disaffection. The leader of the agitation there was Waman Sakharam Khare, B.A., LL.B., born about 1865, and also a Konkanasth Brahmin by caste. He was a friend and follower of B. G. Tilak of Poona, and like him one of the most dangerous of the older men. Under his influence Vinayak Savarkar and his elder brother Ganesh began about 1905 to take a prominent part in the agitation. They became leaders of the *Mitra Mela*, an association started about 1899 in connection with the Ganpati celebrations, and Ganesh personally supervised the teaching of drill, physical exercises and fencing to the Nasik youths. Vinayak prepared a "Life of Mazzini" in Marathi in 1905-06, but was unable to complete its publication when he left for England in June, 1906, to join Krishnavarma, having been awarded the "Shivaji Fellowship" in April. At the time of his departure he was sub-editor of the *Vihari* newspaper of Bombay (see page 102).

KRISHNAVARMA GOES TO PARIS

During 1906 and the following year the "India House" rapidly became notorious as a centre of sedition, and in July, 1907, a question was put in the House of Commons enquiring whether Government proposed to take any action against Krishnavarma. The suggestion was not accepted, but he deemed it prudent to [175] leave England shortly afterwards, and went to Paris where he took up his residence at 10, Avenue Ingres, Passy. In the issue of his paper for September, 1907, he printed the Parliamentary question and answer, and added the following explanation :—

"Just ten years ago, when our friend Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the Natu Brothers were arrested, we decided to leave India and settle in England, and now that another friend, Lala Lajpatrai, has been deported it falls to our lot to quit England, and at much expense and personal inconvenience make Paris our headquarters."

In Paris he continued the campaign of sedition with a freer hand, but he still had his paper printed in England. The printer, however, Arthur F. Horsley, was prosecuted and convicted on

23rd July, 1909. The printing was then taken up by a youth named Guy Aldred who was also convicted on 10th September, 1909, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. After that the paper was printed in Paris.

KRISHNAVARMA'S INFLUENCE DECLINES

Krishnavarma was disbarred by the Benchers of the Inner Temple, on account of his seditious publications, on April 30th, 1909. About the same time the authorities at Oxford desired to abolish the Herbert Spencer Lectureship endowed by him but it was found that this could not be legally done. After his departure to Paris, where he lived in very comfortable quarters with an English secretary and an English maid-servant, his influence with the other leaders declined. He quarrelled with Bepin Chandra Pal and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, of whom more will be heard later, accusing the former of dishonesty and the latter of being disappointed because he had refused to give him the scholarship for which he applied in 1905. Krishnavarma continued, however, to keep in touch with the India House and control the work done there through S. R. Rana of Paris who frequently visited London for the purpose, and to advocate revolution in the columns of his paper; a few specimens of his style are given in the chapter on the press.

[176] SEDITIOUS LEAFLETS

The Mutiny celebration of 1908, for which the red invitation cards were issued, was attended by close upon 100 Indian students, some of whom travelled from Oxford and Cambridge and even from Edinburgh to be present. Shortly afterwards India was flooded with a leaflet entitled "Oh Martyrs" in celebration of the Martyrs of "the memorable year of 1857, the first campaign of the war of independence." The leaflet was without doubt the work of Krishnavarma's men. It was printed in French type, and some copies were sent to a college in Madras wrapped in part of a London *Daily News* on which was written in pencil "65 Crom" in the manner in which newspapers are usually marked for delivery in London. Krishnavarma afterwards denied in the columns of the *Times* that he had anything to do with the "Oh Martyrs" leaflet, but as he added that he was in full sympathy with what was said in it, his denial is of little importance. The accidental evidence noted above permits of no doubt that some at least of the leaflets were sent out from India House,

and as they were simultaneously posted very soon after the Martyrs' celebration there the inference is irresistible that Krishna-varma or his friends had them printed in Paris and sent over to the India House to post to India by the cheaper route. Later it was found that copies of this leaflet, and of another entitled "A Grave Warning" could be had gratis at the India House and that visitors were invited to take them and send them to their friends in India. The "Grave Warning" was an attempt to create a feeling of insecurity in Indian mercantile circles and to embarrass the financial operations of Government by alleging that Indian Government securities were worthless and advising the public to withdraw their investments.

POLICY OF ASSASSINATION

The policy of assassination now began to be advocated at regular Sunday meetings at India House. In June, 1908, a Dr. Desai who was studying at the London University gave a lecture there on "The Making of Bombs." He justified their use and explained what ingredients were required, but did not give the exact proportions. When asked by members of the gathering to do so he declined [177] saying when one of you is prepared to use a bomb at the risk of his life, let him come to me and I will give him full particulars."

ARRIVAL OF INDIAN LEADERS

In the Autumn of 1908, as the result of the prosecution of Tilak and others for sedition and of the approaching announcement by the Secretary of State of the scheme for reform of the Indian Administration, a number of prominent agitators left India for London, and the India House naturally formed a convenient centre for meeting and in some cases a place of residence, G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti, Lajpat Rai, Har Dayal, and Ram Bhaj Dutt from the Punjab, and B. C. Pal of Calcutta, all left India in August and arrived in London in September, 1908.

OPEN REBELLION ADVOCATED

Towards the end of 1908 there was a marked increase in the truculence of the Young India party who greeted with jeers and groans any counsels of moderation put forward by the so-called leaders. The party of violence was headed by Savarkar, who lectured on November 8th on the subject "Are we really disarmed". He pointed out that in spite of the Arms Act there

was plenty of warlike material in India. He instanced the Native States and Native Troops which he said would be sufficient to overpower and drive the British out of India. What was wanted was active work in the Native States and among the native troops, and it would be the duty of every Indian leaving these shores for India to work in that direction. The advent of the bomb had terrified the British public, "we must teach our people to hate the foreign oppressor and success is sure."

THE INDIAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Early in 1909 the India House went from bad to worse, and after a number of squabbles and intrigues usual in Indian conspiracies V. D. Savarkar rose to the position of acknowledged leader. It became the fashion to read at the Sunday meetings passages from a book on the Indian Mutiny which he was preparing, and to hold informal discussions afterwards. The book was eventually published as "The Indian War of Independence [178] of 1857" by "An Indian Nationalist," and many copies were sent to India under various disguises, the most common being a false cover bearing the title "The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club." The subject was a favourite one with Savarkar, and he lectured on it at the Mutiny celebration of the 10th of May, 1909, which was attended by about 40 Indians. He said that the English treated the Indians with the utmost cruelty and brutality by ordering a general massacre, and added that they were perfectly justified now in taking their revenge in any possible way, fair or foul. Innocent women and babies were bayoneted by the English soldiers. He went on to eulogise Nana Sahib, and spoke of the Cawnpore massacre as a heroic deed. The whole nation from one end of India to the other was waiting the word to take up arms against the tyrants and pack them back to their dens. The Sikhs and other native soldiery were ready to rise and shake off the oppressive and ruinous yoke of British rule.

REVOLVER PRACTICE

It now became evident that things were getting serious, and the attendance at the regular meetings began to fall off. The bolder spirits, however, remained, headed by Savarkar and a Madrassi named V. V. S. Aiyar who was regarded as his right-hand man. In May, 1909, it was reported that some of the members used to go in turns to practise revolver shooting at a range

in Tottenham Court Road, run by a Mr. John S. Morley, and among them was a young Punjabi named Madan Lal Dhingra. In a report dated June 25th it was stated that a young Madrassi named M. P. Tirumala Chari was being strenuously coached by V. V. S. Aiyar to become a martyr, and thus to hand his name down to posterity. Tirumala Chari was said to have become careless of life, and to have stated that his end was very near and he did not know whether he would ever go to India or whether the world would see his end in England.

G. D. SAVARKAR

Meantime in India V. D. Savarkar's elder brother Ganesh was being prosecuted for sedition at Nasik as the author of two books of songs prepared for the *Mitra Mela*. He was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life on the [179] 9th of June, 1909. At the usual Sunday meeting at the India House on June 20th V. D. Savarkar was very violent and advocated the wholesale murder of the English in India. He asked every one present to do his best to serve the country by sacrificing his life at the earliest possible moment.

ASSASSINATION OF SIR WM. CURZON-WYLLIE

The consequence of all this was the assassination of Colonel Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, Political Aide-de-Camp at the India Office, at the Imperial Institute on the evening of July 1st by Madan Lal Dhingra whose name has already been mentioned. A Parsee doctor named Cowasji Lalcaca, who was standing near and appears to have made a movement in the direction of the assassin, was also instantly shot and died shortly afterwards on the way to hospital. Dhingra was promptly seized by several bystanders and attempted to commit suicide, but in turning the revolver upon himself he released the safety catch and was consequently unable to shoot.

MADAN LAL DHINGRA

The following statement of Dhingra's reasons for committing the crime was found in his pocket when he was arrested. The "India House" party made strenuous but unsuccessful attempts to have it published, in the course of the trial, in the English newspapers, and afterwards printed it as a leaflet and posted large numbers of copies to India. The style suggests that it was probably Savarkar's, and certainly not Dhingra's composition.

"I attempted to shed English blood intentionally and of purpose, as an humble protest against the inhuman transportations and hangings of Indian youth.

In this attempt I consulted none but my own conscience; conspired with none but my own duty.

I believe that a nation unwillingly held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible I attacked by surprise—since cannon could not be had I drew forth and fired a revolver.

As a Hindu I feel that the slavery of my nation is an insult to my God. Her cause is the cause of freedom. Her service is the service of Sri Krishna. Neither rich nor able, a poor son like myself can offer nothing but his blood on the altar of Mother's deliverance and so I rejoice at the prospect of my martyrdom.

[180] The only lesson required in India is to learn how to die and the only way to teach it is by dying alone.

The soul is immortal and if every one of my countrymen takes at least two lives of Englishmen before his body falls the Mother's salvation is a day's work.

This war ceases not only with the independence of India alone, it shall continue as long as the English and Hindu races exist in this world.

Until our country is free Sri Krishna stands exhorting 'if killed you attain Heaven; if successful you win the earth.'

It is my fervent prayer, may I be reborn of the same mother and may I redie in the same sacred cause, till my mission is done and she stands free for the good of humanity and to the glory of God."

KRISHNAVARMA AND THE MURDER

Madan Lal Dhingra had no personal grievance against Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, who had shown great kindness to other members of his family as well as to himself, and it was not clear why the latter had been singled out for assassination. A suggestion was made in the press that Krishnavarma probably had a hand in it, and in reply to this he wrote himself to the *Times* of 17th July, 1909, to say that Sir William had been his friend, and that he had nothing at all to do with the assassination. At the same time he said "I frankly admit I approve of the deed and regard its author as a martyr in the cause of Indian independence." But the account already given of their relations shows that on two occasions Krishnavarma's misconduct had brought him into conflict with the former Resident at Udaipur. Again in the issue of his paper the *Indian Sociologist* for October, 1907, Krishnavarma published a contribution from a corres-

ponent who said Mr. Morley had appointed a committee to collect evidence on the question whether Indian students turned their visit to England to the best account, but the real object was to check the spread of the principles of the Editor of the *Indian Sociologist* among Indian students resident in England. Of the members of this committee, Sir William Lee Warner, Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, and Mr. T. Morrison, he said they were "old unrepentant foes of India who have fattened on the misery of the Indian peasant ever since they began their career," and their [181] very names should convince the young men that no good could come to the people of India through the labours of such a committee. It may be true that Sir William had treated the editor as a friend before he found him out, but the publication of this article shows what Krishnavarma's friendship amounted to.

SAVARKAR AND THE MURDER

Enquiries made after the murder showed that Dhingra arrived in London in July, 1906, and on October 19th of that year became a student of Engineering at the University College, Gower Street, W.C., which he continued to attend up to the time of the murders. He is said to have visited "India House", soon after his arrival in England, and to have resided there for about six months from March or April, 1908; he certainly lived there for about a month in the early part of 1909. He regularly attended the meetings held at "India House", but no record exists of his having taken any part in the discussions, or of his having made a speech there. On leaving "India House" in April, 1909, he went to reside at 108, Ledbury Road, Bayswater, W., and there remained up to the time he committed the crime. On the night of the murder he was accompanied to the Imperial Institute by one of Savarkar's satellites, a Maratha named H. K. Koregaonkar, who was sent to see that he did not fail in his purpose. Though it was never proved in court, the whole circumstances leave little doubt that the murder of an Englishman was planned by Savarkar in revenge for the sentence passed on his brother, and that the particular victim was chosen to satisfy the private grudge of Krishnavarma. The latter point rests entirely on the inferences to be drawn from the facts already mentioned, but the former was confirmed by secret reports of the conversations of members of the India House group after the murder; they, at least, had no doubt that the murder was planned by Savarkar who left London for Reading a day or two before it took place.

BROWNING PISTOLS SENT TO INDIA

V. D. Savarkar did not confine his attention to England. In February, 1909, a Bombay man named Chatterbhuj Amin, who was employed as a cook [182] at the "India House", was returning to India, and Savarkar took advantage of this to send out 20 Browning pistols, with ammunition, concealed under the false bottom of his box. He had instructions to hand them over to either of two addressees in Bombay, one of whom was V. M. Bhat, an original member of the *Mitra Mela* of Nasik (see page 174) and an old associate of the Savarkar family. Towards the end of February Ganesh Savarkar was aware that the pistols were being sent, and mentioned the fact to another friend named G. K. Patankar. A few days after his arrival in Bombay, about the 6th of March, Chatterbhuj delivered Vinayak Savarkar's letter to V. M. Bhat, and the latter arranged for Patankar to take delivery of the consignment, which he did. In the meantime Ganesh Savarkar had been arrested on February 28th in Bombay in the sedition case to which reference has already been made, and taken up to Nasik where his house was searched on March 2nd. Among the documents found concealed under the eaves were 60 pages of closely typed matter in English, which proved to be a copy of the same bomb manual of which a cyclostyled copy was found in the Maniktolla garden. Savarkar's copy was more complete, as it contained 45 sketches of bombs, mines and buildings to illustrate the text.

THE NASIK MURDER

This arrest upset the plans of the Nasik conspirators, and Patankar sent the pistols to a quiet place called Pen, in the Colaba District, where a friend took charge of them. Soon afterwards Patankar mentioned to another Nasik nationalist named Karve that he knew where pistols could be had, and this led to Karve's taking over first five and afterwards two more of the pistols which were distributed to the Nasik gang. As already explained the conviction of Ganesh Savarkar at Nasik was followed closely by the murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie. He appealed, and his appeal was dismissed by the High Court of Bombay on November 18th, 1909. On December 21st, Mr. Jackson, the District Magistrate of Nasik, was shot dead at a farewell party at the Vijayanand Theatre by a Brahmin youth named Anant Lakshman Kanhere. The murder was committed with one of these Browning pistols, and Karve and another Brahmin

named Deshpande, both [183] similarly armed, were standing by to see that no mistake was made.

ARREST OF V. D. SAVARKAR

Probably in consequence of the news of this murder and of the arrests made at Nasik, V. D. Savarkar left London on 6th January, 1910, for Paris. He returned on March 13th and was arrested on his arrival at Victoria Station on a warrant under the Fugitive Offenders Act. The proceedings for his return to India were contested at every point, and form a most valuable commentary on the working of the Act. His return to India was ordered and he was taken on board the P. & O. S. S. *Morea* at London on July 1st. The ship arrived at Marseilles on the evening of July 7th, and early on the morning of the 8th Savarkar attempted to escape by pushing himself through the open port-hole of a lavatory. He swam to the dock wall, climbed up, and ran along the dock towards the exit which was guarded by a gendarme. Knowing him to be a police officer he ran up to him and asked to be taken before a magistrate; the gendarme, however, brought him back to the ship and handed him over to the escort. His friends in Paris with the aid of the Socialist Party got up a strong agitation against the alleged violation of French sovereignty, and the question whether he should be handed back to the French authorities was taken before a Hague Tribunal. His case was lost, and it was held that, as the gendarme was acting under the orders of his superiors, Savarkar was rightly handed back to the British escort on the ship.

PROSECUTIONS

The Nasik murder gave rise to three prosecutions. The murderer and his two accomplices were convicted and hanged, 38 persons including Vinayak Savarkar were tried by a Special Tribunal, in what was known as the Nasik Conspiracy Case, under section 121-A and other sections of the Penal Code, and Vinayak himself was prosecuted for abetment of the murder. He was convicted and sentenced to transportation for life in both cases in December, 1910. Of the remaining 37, of whom all but one were Brahmins, 11 were acquitted and 26 convicted and sentenced to terms of transportation or [184] imprisonment varying from 15 years to six months. Narayan Savarkar, the third brother of this remarkable family, was found to be a member of the conspiracy, but he was not proved to have been concerned

with arms or explosives, and in consideration of his youth he was let off with six months' imprisonment.

THE BROWNING PISTOLS

By enquiries in Paris it was ascertained that 25 Browning pistols, including the 20 mentioned above, were sold at the end of January, 1909, by a M. Chobert, 16, rue Lafayette, to two natives of India who were brought to the shop by the notorious S. R. Rana. The pistols were delivered to the two purchasers at Rana's address, 46, rue Blanche. The Nasik enquiry was so vigorously conducted that in a short time 18 of the 20 had been seized by the police; and two years later, on the 1st of March, 1912, the remaining two were recovered near Pen where the consignment was first taken on its arrival in India.

THE ABHINAV BHARAT

In the conspiracy case it was established that the *Mitra Mela* Society of Nasik, of which the Savarkar brothers were leading members, had developed by 1907 into a secret society called the *Abhinav Bharat* (New India). This name was also given by Vinayak Savarkar to his band of followers in England. The judgment shows that there were branches of this society at Bombay, Poona and Pen in British territory, and connections at Aurangabad and Hyderabad in Hyderabad State. The actual murderer Anant Kanhere came from Aurangabad. The following extract from the judgment of the Special Tribunal shows what the *Abhinav Bharat* Society was :—

“All the witnesses who have described the inner working of the *Abhinav Bharat* Society in Nasik speak to the administration of oaths to its members. Its existence appears to have been suspected by the police, but its proceedings were kept secret so successfully that no action was taken in regard to the association till the murder of Mr. Jackson on the 21st of December, 1909. There is evidence in the shape of certain documents found in the possession of the accused Kashikar, shortly after the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar in 1909, which indicates that the [185] association aimed at some sort of organisation founded upon the model of revolutionary societies in Russia.

“In a search of the house of Ganesh Savarkar about the same time a much scored copy of “Frost's Secret Societies of the European Revolution, 1776-1876” was found, in which is des-

cribed the secret organisation of the Russian Nihilists, consisting of small circles or groups affiliated into sections, each member knowing only the members of the circle to which he belonged. This may explain the existence of various small groups of young men who are found in this case to have been working for the same objects and drawing weapons from the same source without personal acquaintance with the members of other groups.

“It appears that Vinayak, not content with the lives of Mazzini available in English for the instruction of his associates, was, at or soon after the time of his departure for England, engaged on the preparation of a Marathi version of the autobiography of Mazzini with an introduction summarising the political teaching of the Italian. After his arrival in England Vinayak did not take long to complete this work. It was sent out by him to India for the purpose of publication and was issued from a Poona Press through the agency of Ganesh Savarkar. The order for the printing was given at the end of Decemebr, 1906, and an edition of 2,000 copies was ready in April, 1907.

“The introduction emphasizes the importance of elevating politics to the rank of religion, and argues that Ramdas, the saint of the Maharashtra in the time of Shivaji, possessed the same spiritual essence as Mazzini under a different nature. It points out how Maizzini relied upon the youth of the country to attain independence, and then proceeds to dilate upon his two-fold programme of instruction and war.

“The suggested methods of preparation for war are the purchase and storing of weapons in neighbouring countries to be used when opportunity should occur, the opening of many very small but secret factories at some distance from one another, for the manufacture of weapons clandestinely in the country seeking independence, and the [186] purchase by secret societies of weapons in other countries to be secretly imported in merchant ships.”

GWALIOR CONSPIRACY CASE

An important ramification of the Nasik Conspiracy extended to the State of Gwalior, and came to light in connection with the arrest of Ganesh Savarkar at the end of February, 1909. The branch at Gwalior was called the Nava Bharat (New India) Society, the same thing as the Abhinav Bharat, and 22 persons were tried by a special tribunal appointed by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia. In August 20 of them were convicted :

the ringleaders G. L. Desai, a photographer who produced seditious pictures, and T. G. Sadawartwala were sentenced to seven years' transportation, and the remainder to minor punishments in proportion to their participation in the conspiracy. A copy of the rules was found during the investigation, and a translation reproduced in the judgment of the special tribunal. The rules as usual enjoined secrecy and implicit obedience, and provided for the use of false names and cipher codes of which specimens were found.

OBJECTS OF THE GWALIOR CONSPIRACY

The accused were charged with and convicted of exciting disaffection against the British Government, but their aim as set forth in the rules was to establish a republican form of Government "since all Native princes are mere puppets", and accordingly, the learned Chief Justice remarked, "the conduct of the accused who joined the ranks of that society and took the oath is nothing short of conspiring to wage war against His Highness." The following extract from the rules, as reproduced in the judgment of the special tribunal, explains the methods approved by the conspirators :—

"*Section IV.*—Now there are two ways of carrying out the advice for attaining liberty; education and agitation. There will be thorough consistency between the two. Education includes *swadeshi*, boycott, national education, entire abstinence from liquor, religious festivities, lectures, sermons, kathas (legends related with music and singing), establishment of institutions, libraries, different occasions of *pan supari* (social gatherings), etc., while agitation comprises target-shooting, [187] sword-exercise, preparation of bombs, dynamite, procuring revolvers, taking gymnastic exercises, running races, learning and teaching the use of weapons and missiles, travelling in different provinces and countries and getting information thereof. Those lovers of the country who are deported should establish an association for propagation of national religious duties. Should an occasion for a general rising in any province at a proper time arrive, all should help that cause and attain liberty."

V. V. S. AIYAR

The Nasik Conspiracy, culminating in the murder of the District Magistrate, with the branches which have been described,

was the principal tangible result of the conspiracy in London. Vinayak Savarkar far exceeded the rest of the gang in ability and strength of character, and his removal brought the practical and dangerous work there to an end. Of those who were left behind the Madrassi, V. V. S. Aiyar, who has been already mentioned, and a Bengali named Virendranath Chattopadhyaya were the most prominent. They visited Savarkar in jail and were exhorted by him to keep up the propaganda unaltered. Aiyar was the more thorough of the two; at one of the Sunday meetings which they still kept going, on 10th April, 1910, he said that terrorism or individual assassination was only the first stage of revolution; although it should be carried on for the present with undiminished vigour they ought to keep in view their ultimate goal, namely, a final revolution and a pitched battle with the English forces. It was necessary, therefore, to send out men to America or France for the purpose of learning the manufacture of arms and ammunition of the latest type, and of studying the essentials of military training. The only proper limitation of terrorism, or individual assassination, was collective assassination or war.

TERRORISM

Evidence was given for the prosecution in the Nasik conspiracy case by Chatturbhuj, the man who conveyed the Browning pistols to India, and by H. K. Koregaonkar who was sent by Savarkar to supervise Dhingra's crime. Their treachery was discussed and condemned at the Sunday meeting of April 17th, 1910, and a month later a typewritten [188] letter, dated Paris, May 20th, was addressed to Koregaonkar, purporting to be from "The Executive of the *Abhinav Bharat*," upbraiding him for his treachery in betraying his friends and informing him that the *Abhinav Bharat* had passed upon him the sentence of death which he so richly deserved. He was urged to repent and expiate his crime in some measure before his death by withdrawing all his treacherous evidence.

THE FREE INDIA SOCIETY

This letter was apparently the work of V. V. S. Aiyar who left London for Paris on 19th April, 1910. He was followed on the 9th of June by Chattopadhyaya who believed, on information supplied by Niranjana Pal, the son of Bepin Chandra Pal, that a warrant had been issued for his arrest. The centre of

interest is now transferred to Paris, but before proceeding to describe the course of the conspiracy there it will be convenient to continue the narrative of events in England. In June, 1910, the matter of resuming the meetings of the Free India Society was discussed, and it was decided to postpone the question in order to consult Rafik Mahomed Khan of Nabha, who was then at Reading, and Vishnu Prasad Dube of Hoshangabad, who was at Oxford, as they were persons in whom Savarkar had confidence. Niranjana Pal constantly visited Savarkar in prison and most of the communications between the prisoner and other members of the society passed through his hands. Meantime relations were very strained between Savarkar and Chattopadhyaya, who was determined to take over the leadership, because the latter refused to allow certain funds of the society to be used for Savarkar's defence, and also because he had himself "borrowed" from the fund for his flight to Paris £32 which he was unable to return. On July 2nd Niranjana Pal crossed to Boulogne-sur-mer where he had an interview with Chattopadhyaya probably regarding these money difficulties.

NIRANJANA PAL

In October, 1910, Niranjana Pal, and his father Bepin Chandra Pal tried to revive some interest in Indian affairs by getting up a celebration of the Dassera. It took the form of a dinner, held on October 18th at the Holborn Restaurant, followed by *Tableaux Vivants* representing scenes from [189] the *Ramayana*. About 200 Indians of all classes were present, including many moderates and a few notorious extremists, as well as Sir Henry Cotton, Dr. and Mrs. Rutherford, Mr. W. T. Stead and Mr. Nevinson. The speakers were B. C. Pal and Mr. Stead. The extremists interested themselves chiefly in the *tableaux*, the point of which was probably missed by the sympathetic English gentlemen who were present. The abduction of Sita by Ravana, which was Scene V, means to the Indian Nationalist the destruction of India's prosperity and honour by the English, and the eventual victory of Rama over Ravana represents a successful Hindu rising against the English demons. The scenes which were made the most of were this one of the victory of Rama, which was Scene VII, and the final scene of the coronation of Rama, Scene VIII, which seems to have been applauded chiefly because in it English girls were brought on to the stage as slave-girls of

the Hindu King. All the characters except those of the slave-girls were taken by Indians, among whom were Sukh Sagar Dutt (brother of Ullaskar Dutt, who along with Hem Chandra Das made the bombs used by the anarchists of the Maniktolla garden gang) in the part of Sita, Niranjana Pal, and G. C. Varma. In connection with the *tableaux* the Marseillaise was played and heartily applauded, and a proposal made by someone behind the scenes that the English National Anthem should be sung was ruled out of order.

THE HIND BERADEREE

On November 8th, 1910, a meeting of extremists was held at the Boulogne Restaurant, Gerrard Street, Soho. It was expected that about 20 would be present, but only twelve turned up, including Bepin Chandra Pal, the organiser of the meeting, his son Niranjana Pal, and J. M. Parikh, the extremist barrister. The meeting was called to arrange for the formation of a new Indian Association to be called the *Hind Beraderee* (Indian Brotherhood), which was evidently intended to replace the discredited and defunct Free India Society. The objects of this association were given out to be (a) to promote fellowship and fraternity between Indians resident in Great Britain coming from different parts of India (some objected to this, saying that the words "different parts" should be omitted, but [190] Bepin Chandra Pal overruled the objection and the words were retained); (b) to promote the study and right understanding of Indian life and literature; (c) to promote intellectual and social intercourse between Indians resident in England and their British and other friends and sympathisers.

THE HINDUSTAN SOCIETY

This new society proved a failure. Its name was changed in February, 1911, to the "Hindustan Society" but it was all the time torn by internal dissensions, and the promised subscriptions did not come in. Rooms were taken for the society at 210, High Holborn, by K. N. Das Gupta who guaranteed the rent, but he soon fell out with B. C. Pal and his son regarding its payment and continued to occupy one of the rooms himself. About the middle of April it was reported that no meetings of the society had been held there for a month, and the club was dissolved at

a small meeting held on May 13th, having only 5 shillings to its credit.

THE INDIAN STUDENT

B. C. Pal's next attempt to raise money was a magazine called the *Indian Student* described as "A fortnightly organ of the Indian Students abroad." The first number came out in March, 1911, and in it the editor declared that he would "scrupulously avoid the discussion of all questions relating to current Indian politics." The very next article in the paper, however, was an attack on English education in which the writer advised his countrymen to prosecute their studies anywhere rather than in England. The magazine was not a success, and had to be discontinued for want of funds, and B. C. Pal was so hard pressed for money that he had to leave his lodgings at 140, Sinclair Road in May, 1911, owing the landlord about £35 as rent.

MUTINY CELEBRATION

On the 10th of May, 1911, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Mutiny was celebrated at a dinner held at 60, Sinclair Road, the residence of Nizam-ud-din, proprietor of the Eastern Cafes in Shepherd's Bush, W., and Chancery Lane, W.C. About 19 persons were present most of them Behari students and a few new arrivals from India. [191] The arrangements for the dinner were made by G. C. Varma; as he had come under suspicion as an informer several leading suspects absented themselves, notably B. C. Pal, who was usually careful to avoid open association with sedition, and his son Niranjan. In connection with this celebration a new leaflet appeared headed "10th May, 1911." It had on the front page the names of 10 celebrated leaders of the Mutiny, and also commemorated "those tens of thousand men and women who perished in 1857 in the sacred attempt to wrench the mother from the hands of the Feringhi." After recalling the past glories of India, the writer says, "How the heart of every true man and woman of us should burn with fierce rage and hatred! Our grandfathers felt that holy wrath against the accursed barbarians of the west, and they made the mighty sacrifice which, beginning at Meerut on the 10th of May, 1857, was the most recent, most widespread and most glorious stand made against the alien enemy; a war of independence that, even in its failure, is full of passionate hope and encouragement for the

future, albeit it is brimful of the sorrows of defeat and treachery". The type used appeared to be French, and the word homage was twice printed in the form "hommage;" it seems likely, therefore, that it was the work of the Paris coterie.

B. C. PAUL RETURNS TO INDIA

Bepin Chandra Pal continued to address meetings in London and elsewhere on Indian subjects, most of which were poorly attended, and in September, 1911, with the help of money sent by G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti and other friends, left for India. He informed his followers that in view of the Coronation Durbar he did not anticipate any trouble with the authorities, and that he himself was no longer an extremist. He also said that the Honourable Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose had given him an assurance that he would speak to the Viceroy in his favour and so there would be no trouble.

THE SWARAJ, MAGAZINE

This hopeful anticipation was not realised. At the end of 1908, a few months after his arrival in England, he and Khaparde had arranged to start a new fortnightly magazine called *Swaraj* (Self Rule). In a published letter on [192] the subject they said they considered that the conditions in India rendered open Nationalist work there impossible. Their only chance lay in organising a propaganda from outside India, and this was necessary because the result of the repressive policy in India would be to drive the Nationalist movement underground, an unhealthy result which could only be avoided by continuing the work from outside. The magazine appeared on February 27th, 1909, and the first few issues were harmless and uninteresting. It was sent out to India, and an agency for its distribution was established in Bombay, managed by Ganesh Balwant Modak. On the appearance in the Double Summer Number of the magazine, dated 16th June, 1909, of an article entitled "The Etiology of the Bomb in Bengal" proceedings were taken under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, against Modak, and on the 31st of August, 1909, he was convicted and sentenced to one month's simple imprisonment. This result was fatal to the *Swaraj* Magazine which was already languishing for want of funds.

CONVICTION OF B. C. PAL

In the face of this unhappy precedent B. C. Pal landed in Bombay on the 6th of October, 1911. He was arrested at once and taken before the Chief Presidency Magistrate the same evening on a charge of sedition in respect of the same article. He pleaded guilty and the same sentence was passed; no other course was possible as Modak's case had been taken to the High Court in revision and the conviction and sentence upheld. In the course of his judgment Mr. Justice Chandavarkar made the following remarks on the article :—

“The intention and meaning of all this is obvious. The Government, according to the writer, is composed of a race which is material or mean; it has proved the people's oppressor; it is demoralising them by turning out scoundrel patriots; it is irritating them by repressive measures. It has exasperated them to acts of violence; it has secretly allowed Mahomedan “rowdies” to attack Hindus; and all this has served to bring the bomb into existence. The use of the bomb is represented by the writer as “lawful” and “not criminal”, under the state of things portrayed by him. Throughout [193] the attempt is to create the impression that the Government exists for the satisfaction of its own cupidity; even the peace of the country enjoyed under the Government is referred to ironically. Such writing cannot but have been meant by the writer to bring the Government into contempt and hatred, and to excite feelings of disaffection against it.”

GUY ALDRED

In November, 1911, two men named Gyan Chand Varma and Sarju Prasad, both of whom had all along been prominent in the revolutionary movement in London, were called to the bar and left for India. In the following year a few attempts were made to keep up the agitation by Niranjan Pal and one or two others; they tried to ally themselves with the Socialists, and even with the Women Suffragists, and obtained a little sympathy but no real support. Guy Aldred, the young man who was convicted in 1909 for printing sedition in the *Indian Sociologist*, managed to have an article on the Savarkar case published in June, 1912, in the *Freewomen*, a London weekly edited by Dora Marsden, B.A. In the course of it he said, “A Government that insults the starving millions in India and England by the Royal

puppet show at Delhi, that promises pardon to political offenders only to retain its hold over a man who is the victim of the most infamous knavery our capitalistic governors could evolve, is one of the worst abominations of the earth. All the empty pomp and tinsel show of monarchical pauper splendour cannot lend dignity to its machinations nor glory to its career. Seditious these words of mine may be. Just and deserved they certainly are." It was believed, however, that Aldred was taking this up merely for notoriety and in order to obtain money from Savarkar's sympathisers; his article was a little out of place in a magazine mainly devoted to sex questions which the lady editor permitted to be discussed with an amount of freedom usually confined to medical journals.

CENTRE OF INTEREST TRANSFERRED TO PARIS

The Indian revolutionary movement in London finally died out because none of the important leaders was left and because there was no money in it. [194] Those who were suspects were so carefully watched that they had no opportunity of engaging in serious conspiracy, and the Paris party, who had a certain amount of money, evidently regarded it as useless to waste it in England. They made use of their sympathisers there occasionally as a means of posting seditious literature cheaply to India, but otherwise took no further interest in London as a centre.

[195] CHAPTER VIII

PARIS

THE OLD PARIS GROUP

In the last chapter mention has been made of the departure from London for Paris of V. V. S. Aiyar in April, 1910, and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya in June. In Paris, which now became the centre of the European group, a small circle of Indian revolutionaries had already collected; the most prominent of these at this time were Krishnavarma, of whom an account has already been given (see page 170), a Parsi lady called Madame Cama, a young Punjabi named Har Dayal, and S. R. Rana, a Rajput of Kathiawar.

MADAME CAMA

Mrs. Bhikaiji Rustom Cama, the wife of a Parsi solicitor, was born about 1875, the daughter of Sorabji Framji Patel of Bombay. She left India about 1902, and spent a year each in Germany, Scotland, Paris and London; after visiting America in 1907 and London in 1908, she settled down in Paris about the middle of 1909. On November 24th, 1908, she attended one of the "India House" meetings in London, and after a lecture by B. C. Pal on Hindu politics she made a speech in which she advised her hearers to follow the self-sacrificing example of the political assassins of Bengal (whom she named, each name being greeted with loud cheers) and to be prepared for death. She also displayed a national flag woven in silk and gold with the inscription "In Memory of the Martyrs of 1908." At another meeting in the following month she made a very violent speech which was afterwards reprinted in the *Free Hindusthan*, and copies of the speech, in the form of a leaflet purporting to be signed by her, were afterwards sent in large numbers to India. Coming to Paris in May, 1909, she interested herself chiefly in the business of preparing and forwarding to India seditious literature in the form of newspapers and leaflets, and generally in helping on the [196] revolutionary propaganda with her advice, and what was probably more valuable with her money. She was at this time one of the

recognised leaders of the revolutionary movement in Paris, and was said to be regarded by the Hindus as an incarnation of some deity, presumably Kali. Her paper called the *Bande Mataram* (see page 113), copies of which were regularly despatched to India, was frankly revolutionary. Like many of the so-called leaders she had a very exaggerated idea of her own importance, and was constantly quarrelling with Krishnavarma, Chattopadhyaya and others of her party.

HAR DAYAL

Har Dayal is a very clever young man; he was born about 1884, son of the late Lala Gauri Dayal, Kayasth by caste, a reader in the District Court at Delhi. In Delhi Har Dayal became a B.A., and at Lahore in the examination for the M.A. degree he was first of his year. In one of the examinations which he passed his English papers were so good that they were retained by a high education authority to whose notice they came as models of excellence. He was selected for a State scholarship, tenable for three years in England, and in 1905 he went to Oxford, residing in St. John's College till 1907. When the scholarship had only six months to run he threw it up on the ground that he was unwilling to accept any favour at the hands of Government; but he had not done badly out of it as he had held it for two years and a half. He was back in Lahore at the beginning of 1908, and in April of that year he and a party of youths he had collected stayed with Lala Lajpatrai for a few days. He tried to impress his ideas on the Punjab extremists, but when he said that true Nationalism required that one should not help Government even by working as a pleader, this was too much for them (most of them being pleaders themselves) and even the *Punjabee* newspaper, in an article published on August 5th, 1908, repudiated him as a quixotic dreamer. The same month he left again for Europe, and after staying for a time in London, Oxford, Paris and Geneva he returned to Paris towards the end of 1909. In April, 1910, he went to Algiers for his health—he suffers from consumption—and returned in July. In the following October he went to Martinique, and from there passed on to the United States in January, 1911. While he was in Geneva he edited Madame Cama's paper, the *Bande Mataram*, and in Paris he stayed during one visit with Krishnavarma and during the other with S. R. Rana. He has always been well off for money mostly received from his wife's family;

he is married to the daughter of Gopal Chand, a wealthy resident of Agra, whose father was once Prime Minister in Patiala State.

S. R. RANA

Sirdarsinghji Rewabhai Rana was born about 1878, and is a claimant to the chiefship of the State of Limbdi in Kathiawar. He was educated at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and obtained the B.A. degree in 1898. He then went to London and studied law at Gray's Inn, at the same time earning his living by doing business for the firm of Jivanchand Ootamchand Jhaveri, pearl merchants of Paris and Surat. About 1899 he went to Paris to join the firm, and took up his residence at 46, rue Blanche, his place of business being 56, rue Lafayette. He took with him to Paris a German woman named Therese Liszt whose acquaintance he had made in London; she is known as Mrs Rana, though he is already married to an Indian lady whom he left behind in Kathiawar. Rana first came to notice in 1905 through the support he gave to Krishnavarma's anti-British scholarship scheme by offering three "Travelling Fellowships" of Rs. 2,000 each. Not long after Krishnavarma came over to Paris he and Rana quarrelled on the subject of Mrs. Rana, as the former did not wish her to be taken into their confidence saying that she was "a white woman and of low class". After this Rana became a supporter of Madame Cama, and took her side against Krishnavarma; his importance lies mainly in the help he has been able to give to the revolutionary funds and to young Indian revolutionaries visiting Paris.

SUPPLY OF ARMS

The activities of the Paris party were mainly literary, but they had already taken some steps which had serious consequences. They befriended Hem Chandra Das when he [198] was in Paris to learn bomb-making (see page 143), and it was through S. R. Rana that the Browning pistols used in the Nasik murder were purchased here for the London group (see page 184). It was the facility with which arms could be procured that made Paris potentially such a dangerous centre, and Chatto padhyaya lost no time in attempting to take advantage of it. On June 17th, 1910, he wrote a letter to a youth named Srikishen of Hyderabad (Deccan) headed "Chez Madame B. R. Cama, 25, rue de Ponthieu, Paris," telling him not to go to

Calcutta till he heard from him, and promising to send a detailed letter next week. Next week the promised letter came in a figure cipher the key of which, to one who understood it, was indicated in the previous letter. When deciphered it read as follows :—

“There was no letter from last week. Most anxious here. Before you go to Calcutta write to me and let me know how things are getting on in Hyderabad. When you go to Calcutta please see my friend Bejoy Chandra Chatterji who will be introduced by Gannu. Speak to him privately about affairs and ask him to introduce you to Sukumar Mitter, son of Krishna Kumar Mitter. Tell him, that is Sukumar, that I am prepared to send rifles from here, but it is necessary to start a secondhand furniture shop in Calcutta or in Chandernagore. We could then keep sending pieces of furniture for a few months containing nothing, but afterwards containing the required articles. As regards money that (will ?) be sent to Madame Cama, and as regards all instructions it would be best to send them by some trusted friend who may be coming here. As for myself and Rau we had to run away because warrants are out. When you go see Gannu, she will tell you all.”

V. CHATTOPADHYAYA

Of the persons concerned in this plot, the writer of the letter, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya (a grandiloquent form of the more familiar Chatterji), is the eldest son, born in 1880, of the late Dr. Aghorenath Chatterji, D.Sc. (Edin.), *ex-Principal* and Professor of Science of the Nizam's College, Hyderabad State. Virendranath is a B.A. of Calcutta University and went to England in [199] 1902 to study for the Indian Civil Service but failed twice; he became a student of the Middle Temple but was expelled by the Benchers on account of the views expressed by him in a letter to the *Times* of 6th July, 1909 in support of Savarkar. While in London he was completely under Savarkar's influence, but in Paris he aspired to become the leader. He is full of imagination, like many Bengalis, and was continually propounding elaborate schemes for revolution which were not of the slightest practical value; as Madame Cama sometimes said of him he was “all talk and no work”.

CHATTOPADHYAYA'S RELATIVES

The person called “Gannu” in the cipher letter is one of his sisters, Miss Mrinalini Chatterji. (Another sister not connec-

ted with this conspiracy is the celebrated poetess Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.) Mrinalini was already known to be an advanced Nationalist, and a friend of Miss Kumudini Mitter, editress of the seditious *Suprabhat* Magazine (see page 87). Sukumar, mentioned in the letter, is of course Kumudini's brother, and B. C. Chatterji a Calcutta barrister well known as an extremist.

C. SRIKISHEN

The full name of the addressee of the letter is C. Srikishen Balmokand, son of Rai Balmokand, a judge in Hyderabad State. He was educated in the Nizam's College, and went to England in 1908 to read for the bar. In London he was a regular attender at the "India House" meetings and was much in the company of Savarkar and Aiyar with each of whom he shared lodgings at different times. He also became a close friend of Chattopadhyaya with whose sister Mrinalini he was in constant and affectionate correspondence. He was recalled to India by his father, who had heard of his doings, and reached Hyderabad in June, 1910. Owing to the fact that he had been recently taking a very leading part in the inner councils of the revolutionaries arrangements were made to have his correspondence examined, and the letters mentioned above were intercepted. In consequence of this the houses of K. K. Mitter and Dr. Agorenath Chatterji were searched on August 16th, 1910, but no further treasonable correspondence [200] was discovered; a considerable number of letters from Srikishen to Mrinalini were found, but many recent letters had evidently been destroyed or got out of the way before the search was made. Thus the scheme which was the most practical of any devised by Chattopadhyaya ended in failure.

V. V. S. AIYAR

The Madrassi V. V. S. Aiyar was more successful. Varaganeri Venkatesa Subramania Aiyar, to give him his full name, is a native of Trichinopoly and a B.A. of Madras University. After passing his law examinations he practised for two years as a pleader in his native town; he went to Rangoon in 1907, and in the following year to England. His close association with Savarkar has already been noticed, and it was reported that, in the discussions as to the methods to be followed in bringing about a revolution which took place after Savarkar's arrest, V. V. S. Aiyar was the most prominent advocate of the methods

of violence and assassination laid down by him. After six months of Paris, during which he associated chiefly with Madame Cama, Aiyar left quietly in October, 1910, letting it be understood that he was going *via* Geneva to Berlin. He came out, however, to India, and getting through disguised as a Mahomedan turned up in Pondicherry where he was first noticed in December, 1910. Pondicherry was already a refuge for seditious agitators, of whom the most prominent was Arabindo Ghose (see page 152). Here Aiyar continued his revolutionary work, maintaining a regular correspondence with Madame Cama who sent him a subsidy of 50 francs a month.

SEDITIONOUS LEAFLETS

About the end of May a leaflet in the Tamil language appeared at Madura and other places in the South of the Madras Presidency, entitled "A word of advice to the Aryans," in which the writer said, "Swear in the presence of God that you will remove this sinner of a *Feringhi* from our country, and firmly establish Swaraj therein! Take an oath that, as long as the *Feringhi* exercises authority in our land of *Bharat*, you will regard life as a trifle. Beat the white English *Feringhi* you get hold [201] of, even as you beat a dog, and kill him with a knife, a stick, a stone or even with the hand given by God." The word *Feringhi* is used here as an abusive term for European. Within a fortnight this leaflet was followed by another in the same language called "the Oath of admission into the *Abhinav Bharat* Society." It purported to be printed at the same place, "the *Feringhi*-destroyer press," and it was afterwards found that the type used in both leaflets was the same as that in which the *Dharma* newspaper of Pondicherry was printed. On the whole there was little doubt that Aiyar was the author.

INCITEMENT TO MURDER

As the time of the Royal Coronation in England approached it became evident that the Paris revolutionaries were intent upon doing something to mar the celebration. The April, 1911, number of the *Bande Mataram*, Madame Cama's paper, which came out about the end of May, was one of the most violent that ever appeared. It began with an "In Memoriam" notice to the three men executed for the Nasik murder, described the recent murder of Head Constable Sirish Chandra Chakravarti and the attempted bomb outrage in Dalhousie Square as good news from

Calcutta, and concluded in an article on these events with the following hysterical appeal :—

Dealing with villains like these, an Indian must throw to the winds all the ordinary rules of warfare. The Englishman is a snake and he must be thrashed and mauled and killed wherever he is found. With gentlemen we can be gentlemen, but not with rogues and scoundrels. It is no infamy if an Indian pupil shoots down his English professor, if an Indian clerk shoots down an English superior, if an Indian barrister shoots down the English Judge, an Indian patient shoots down an English doctor. In a meeting or in a bungalow, on the railway or in a carriage, in a shop or in a church, in a garden or at a fair, wherever an opportunity comes, Englishmen ought to be killed. No distinction should be made between officers and private people. The great Nana Sahib understood this, and our friends the Bengalis [202] have also begun to understand. Blessed be their efforts! Long be their arms! Now indeed we may say to the Englishman. "Don't shout till you are out of the wood."

THE PARIS PARTY

Information received from London tended in the same direction; a well-informed correspondent writing on June 3rd expressed a strong suspicion that the Paris party was meditating some outrage in connection with the Coronation; he added that if any outrage was contemplated, as he suspected, it was more likely to take place in India than in England. As showing that the Paris party was in close touch with Aiyar at this time it may be mentioned that Madame Cama is known to have posted letters to Aiyar on the 4th of April and on the 6th and 21st of May, 1911.

THE TINNEVELLY MURDER

About midday on June 17th, 1911, Mr. Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly, was shot in the presence of his wife in a railway carriage at Maniyachi Junction in the Tinnevelly district, by a young Brahmin named Vanchi Aiyar, a clerk in the Travancore Forest Department, who committed suicide a few minutes later. Mr. Ashe died about 20 minutes after he was shot. The assassin was accompanied by his brother-in-law, named Shankara Krishna Aiyar, who ran away and escaped but was afterwards arrested and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

On the body of Vanchi Aiyar the following letter in the Tamil language was found :—

“The *mlechhas* of England having captured our country tread under foot the *Sanatan Dharma* (orthodox religion) of the Hindus and destroy it. Every Indian is trying to drive out the English and restore *Swarajya* and the *Sanatan Dharma*. Our Rama, Shivaji, Krishna, Guru Govind and Arjun ruled over our land protecting all religions, but now they are preparing to crown in this land George V. a *mlechha* who eats the flesh of cows. 3,000 Madrassis have taken a vow to kill George V as soon as he lands in our country. To make known our intention to others, I who am the least in this company have done this deed this day. Every man in Hindustan should consider this his duty.”

[203] V. D. SAVARKAR

On the day of the murder a letter purporting to be from V. V. S. Aiyar, though not in his usual handwriting, was posted in Pondicherry addressed to “V. D. Savarkar, Prisoner.” The letter itself is undated but the postmark shows that it was posted at 4-30 p.m. on the 17th of June. As there was every chance that the letter would go astray, which it did, the writer of course gives nothing away, but he begins, “After how long a time I address this letter to you, and under what altered circumstances? Up to now I have been writing to Mr. Baptista and others who should have carried my message to you (orally of course) or who at least should have written to me your address, and still I have not got it.” It is certainly remarkable that V. V. S. Aiyar should have chosen this occasion for what was evidently the first letter written by him direct to Savarkar since they parted in England; and the letter, although it says nothing about the murder, may have been intended to convey to Savarkar the hint, which he would not be slow to understand, that it was committed in furtherance of the policy of his *Abhinav Bharat Society*.

NILAKANTA AIYAR

In the course of the enquiry it came out that one of the most important conspirators was a certain Nilakanta Aiyar, a young man of 21, formerly well-known as a member of the Pondicherry group of revolutionaries, who used to go about disguised as an ascetic preaching *swadeshi* and calling himself

Nilakanta Brahmachari. As he could not be found a reward of Rs. 1,000 was being offered for his arrest, but meantime he turned up in Calcutta and wrote to the Commissioner of Police offering to surrender as he had reason to believe, he said, that he might be needed as a witness in the case. His account, repeated in court, showed that for the last three years he had been going round the South of India with Shankara Krishna Aiyar preaching *swadeshi* and sedition. About June, 1910, Shankara introduced his brother-in-law Vanchi to Nilakanta, and after that they met frequently. Nilakanta was in Pondicherry when V. V. S. Aiyar arrived from Europe, but states that he did not see him then. He was in Pondicherry again in February, 1911, [204] and regarding this visit he says "Vanchi Aiyar came to see me at Pondicherry in connection with the publication of my books. He stayed there three or four days; every day he used to go and see V. V. S. Aiyar. I also met Aiyar at this time. I did not go with Vanchi to see Aiyar. Aiyar advocated violence and assassination to free the country. I asked him what his aim was; he said violence is the best method in the present state of the country, young men should be induced to violence. No one else was present when I saw Aiyar. Aiyar's idea was that Europeans in India should be assassinated, that the country had been quiet too long. He said many nationalists were working for India in America, England, France and Switzerland." In the course of his statement he mentioned that he was asked to go and see Aiyar by two young men of Pondicherry named Nagaswami Aiyar and Balkrishna Aiyar, and it is a curious coincidence that the same Nagaswami Aiyar was seen in the train going up to Maniyachi junction the day after the murder.

THE LINK WITH PARIS

The explanation of Nilakanta's disclosures was that during the February visit V. V. S. Aiyar persuaded Vanchi Aiyar to leave Nilakanta, by accusing the latter of cowardice, and to become his man, and on this account Nilakanta and V. V. S. Aiyar quarrelled. The evidence against the latter was not considered sufficiently strong to justify an attempt to procure his extradition for complicity in the murder, but there can be little doubt that it was instigated from Paris through V. V. S. Aiyar.

TINNEVELLY CONSPIRACY CASE

The disclosures made in the course of the investigation led to the Tinnevelly Conspiracy Case which was decided on 15th

February, 1912, by a Special Tribunal of the Madras High Court. Out of 14 persons accused, nine were convicted by a majority of the court and five were acquitted. Of the nine who were convicted the finding of the court as against four was unanimous, but Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair differed regarding the remaining five mainly on the ground that he did not consider that the evidence of the approvers had been sufficiently [205] corroborated. The convictions were all under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code (conspiracy to wage war against the King), the court holding that the second charge of abetment of the murder of Mr. Ashe failed as the murder was not the direct result of the conspiracy, although it might have been the result of the pernicious influence of the conspiracy on the mind of Vanchi Aiyar, the assassin. The first accused, Nilakanta Aiyar, was sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment. Six of the persons convicted petitioned the High Court in revision (there is no appeal from the decision of a Special Tribunal) and the petitions were rejected by a majority of the full bench, the three European Judges rejecting the petitions and the two Indian Judges dissenting.

PARIS COMMENTS ON THE MURDER

If the Paris conspirators did not claim credit for the murder they at least expressed their satisfaction with it. In the issue of her paper dated July, 1911, Madame Cama published an article showing that the recent political assassinations were in accordance with the teachings of the Bhagwat Gita (see page 48). The article was ascribed to V. D. Savarkar, and in the course of a commentary on it the editress observed, "Thank God his voice will not fall on deaf ears, because when the gilded slaves from Hindustan were parading the streets of London as performers in the Royal Circus, and were prostrating themselves like so many clowns at the feet of the King of England, two young and brave countrymen of ours proved by their daring deeds at Tinnevely and at Mymensingh that Hindustan is not sleeping." The reference to Mymensingh relates to the murder there of Sub-Inspector Raj Kumar Roy on the 18th of June. In the following number Madame Cama returned to the subject with this comment: "The moral is clear. We have done very well to strike down Englishmen; for we have thus given them fair warning that the inevitable war that lies between them and us has already begun. And we

must continue to rejoice each time an Englishman is sent to his doom by some brave patriot. But we shall gain many solid advantages by devoting greater attention, for the present, to Hindi traitors; their removal would paralyse the tyrants, while at [206] the same time their loss would not excite either their anger or their sympathy. Our comrades in Bengal have shown us the salutary effects of dealing with informers and with the Indian police. Let us extend their policy to all parts of Hindustan until our countrymen are prepared to take advantage of the assassination of Englishmen on a large scale."

CHATTOPADHYAYA'S AFFAIRS

The departure of Aiyar for India and Har Dayal for Martinique in October, 1910, weakened the Paris party very considerably, and Madame Cama was left to bring out her paper the *Bande Mataram* mainly with the assistance of S. R. Rana. As neither of them is very good at English the style of the paper suffered, but it was kept going till the middle of 1914. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya was so much engrossed in his private affairs as to give them very little help. Shortly after his arrival in England he had made the acquaintance of an English girl, and from 1903 to 1909 they lived in lodgings in Lancaster Road, Notting Hill as Mr. and Mrs. Chatterton. In the latter year they quarrelled and parted, and Chattopadhyaya then made friends with a Miss Reynolds who was said to be very well off and was known to have contributed to Mrs. Chatterton's maintenance. In the Spring of 1911, Chattopadhyaya was visited several times in Paris by Miss Reynolds, who went about with him sometimes disguised as a boy, and in August they went off to Brussels to go through the form of marriage there but were prevented by a legal technicality. Eventually the marriage took place in Paris early in 1912, and for a time Chattopadhyaya was able to live on his wife's money and was rather lost to the revolutionary movement. Two years later they separated and Chattopadhyaya was again thrown upon his own resources.

DEPRESSION IN PARIS

Up till the end of 1911 S. R. Rana's communications with Aiyar in Pondicherry were made through Madame Cama, but in January, 1912, he wrote to Aiyar himself stating that he wanted to enter into personal communication with him. The fol-

lowing passage in his letter describes [207] the state of affairs in the Paris party at the time :—“We are under great depression for the present. All comrades do not show or continue the same vitality. It cannot be helped.”

GOVIND AMIN

During the year two incidents occurred which lowered the estimation of Indians in the opinion of the Paris public in the same way as the “India House” plotting and the murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie made Indian students for a long time unpopular in England. The first was the conduct of Govind Amin, a young man of about 30, brother of Chatturbhuj Amin, who was a member of V. D. Savarkar’s “India House” group in London and gave evidence against him in the Nasik Conspiracy Case (see page 183). Govind Amin went to England in 1907, and resided in the “India House” for about a year in 1908-1909. It was reported that he carried a revolver, and that he used to take other members of the society to practise at the range in Tottenham Court Road where the assassin Madan Lal Dhingra learned to shoot. Shortly after the assassination Govind Amin absconded to Paris; he was well received by Krishnavarma who gave him a “Martyrs Memorial Scholarship” of £32 a year, and by Madame Cama and S. R. Rana who promised him a similar sum to enable him to learn the manufacture of arms and ammunition. He was unsuccessful in several attempts to obtain admittance to arms factories in Paris and elsewhere, and for a time led a dissolute life in the company of Virendranath Chattopadhyaya whom he helped with his revolutionary schemes.

SUICIDE OF GOVIND AMIN

After a time Govind Amin obtained work in S. R. Rana’s office and later set up on his own account as a trader in pearls and precious stones at 26, rue Cadet. In this capacity he was trusted with parcels of gems of considerable value by several Indian merchants. He lost a lot of money gambling at Trouville, and eventually Bapulal Jhaveri, D. Choksi, and S. R. Rana complained to the Paris police, charging Govind Amin with the theft of pearls and precious stones valued approximately at 140,000 francs, 67,500 francs and 22,000 francs [208] respectively. Enquiries showed that he had pawned jewels to the value of 23,000 francs in Paris, 32,500 francs in Enghien, and £1,200 in London. As soon as they found that their money was in danger Rana

and the other Indian merchants did not hesitate to denounce Govind Amin to the police as a dangerous anarchist who always carried a revolver, thus confirming the information already received about him. On September 17th, 1912, he committed suicide at Enghien in the shop of a pearl merchant with whom he had had dealings before and to whom he had just applied for a loan of money. Among his personal effects were found a typed manual on the making of bombs, consisting of sixty pages in English with three pages of illustrations, a manuscript book containing eighty pages of notes on the manufacture and repair of revolvers, guns and cannon, and several photographs of Indian assassins, including Khudiram Bose and Profulla Chaki, who perpetrated the Muzaffarpore bomb outrage, and Madan Lal Dhingra who shot Sir William Curzon-Wyllie.

CASE OF FRAUD

In the second case, which occurred in November, 1912, the revolutionary party were not implicated, but they shared in the general public disfavour which it helped to increase. A Hindu dealer in gems was prosecuted for selling as genuine to a M. Lacroix for 38,000 francs an imitation pearl necklace worth about 4,000 francs. The case was not reported in detail, but the Hindu, whose name was given as Lam, was arrested on the evidence of M. Lacroix and the lady for whom he was buying the pearls, Mlle. Whitney, described in the newspapers as "sa petite amie, gentille étoile de music-hall."

FINANCES OF THE PARTY

In August, 1912, copies were obtained of papers in Madame Cama's own handwriting which threw considerable light on the finances of her party. They showed that on the 23rd August, 1910 Madame Cama deposited 7,500 francs with S. R. Rana, 46, rue Blanche, who granted a receipt in the following terms, "Payable with the interest of 5 per cent (*sic.*) five per cent. per annum, on demand, to the following members of the *Abhinav* [209] *Bharat* or such of them as may remain in France at the time of the demand, or to their order—Mrs. B. K. R. Cama, Mr. V. V. S. Aiyar, Mr. V. Chattopadhyaya." An account signed by Madame Cama and V. Chattopadhyaya on 27th January, 1911, showed that up till that date two sums of 150 and 200 francs had been paid to "Longuet" and 1,387 francs 50 for the Bombay bill." A further account in Madame Cama's hand,

dated 11th February, 1911, detailed further payments of over 2,000 francs, including 650 "to Longuet", 1250 "to Aiyar" and 40 "for Aiyar's baggage." A letter written to Rana by Madame Cama on the 13th July, 1912, gives some further information. She says, 'You have given me a receipt for 6,000 francs; that is useless because you have written it as if it was my own money, and at my death my legal heirs will be able to take this money, or while I am still alive my husband would be able to raise objections. On this account please give me a receipt for 10,000 francs in the name of *Abhinav Bharat* Society, in the same way as you gave me a former receipt for 7½. Write this one in the same way because at the time of writing that we showed it to Longuet and it was according to the law. I have a wish to give you another 6,000, therefore I am keeping the present receipt; but if you are not willing to take this I will tear it up.'

ME. LONGUET

The person referred to as Longuet is Maitre Jean Longuet, Avocat à la Cour d' Appel de Paris, a well-known young socialist who frequently wrote signed articles for the socialist paper *l'Humanite*. It was mainly through him that the socialist press and the socialist deputies, led by M. Jaurès, took up V. D. Savarkar's case, and pressed successfully for the reference of the case to the Hague Tribunal; under Madame Cama's instructions he submitted to the tribunal a memorial on behalf of Savarkar. These accounts show that the sympathy and help of the French socialists cost the Indian revolutionaries about £50. The "Bombay bill" probably refers to the defence of Savarkar's case, in which the solicitors were Messrs. Ferreira and Divan of Bombay, and counsel Mr. Joseph Baptista.

YUGANTAR CIRCULAR

[210] There is little to record in 1913. Early in the year copies of an anonymous leaflet headed *Yugantar Circular* were sent to India; the authorship is not definitely known, but there is good reason to believe that it was prepared by Har Dayal, and it was ascertained that Madame Cama had in her possession 1,500 copies for distribution (see page 127).

MUTINY CELEBRATION

On the 10th of May the usual Mutiny celebration was held; it was convened by the following notice which was circulated in Paris:—

“A Soirée will be held on Saturday the 10th of May, 1913,
to commemorate the

ANNIVERSARY OF THE REVOLUTION

that began on 10th May, 1857, by our forefathers to rid
Hindustan of foreign tyrants.

All are cordially invited to the Café where it has been
annually celebrated.”

OATH OF THE ABHINAV BHARAT

In November, 1913, copies were received in India of a post-card, emanating from Paris, bearing on one side a photograph of V. D. Savarkar with an advertisement of his book “The Indian War of Independence.” On the other side was a copy of “The Oath of the Abhinav Bharat” which runs as follows:—

“In the name of God.

In the name of Bharat Mata (Mother India).

In the name of all the martyrs that have shed their blood
for Bharat Mata.

By the love, innate in all men and women, that I bear to
the land of my birth, wherein lie the sacred ashes of
my forefathers and which is the cradle of my children.

[211] By the tears of Hindi Mothers for their children whom
the Foreigner has enslaved, imprisoned, tortured and
killed.

I convinced that without
Absolute Political Independence or *Swarajya* my country can
never rise to that exalted position among the nations of the earth
which is Her due.

And convinced also that *Swarajya* can never be attained
except by the waging of a bloody and relentless war against the
Foreigner,

Solemnly and sincerely swear that I shall from this moment
do everything in my power to fight for independence and
to place the Lotus Crown of *Swarajya* on the head of
my Mother;

And with this object, I join the *Abhinav Bharat*, the revo-
lutionary Society of all Hindusthan, and swear that I
shall ever be true and faithful to this my solemn oath,
and that I shall obey the orders of this body.

If I betray the whole or any part of this solemn oath, or if

I betray this body or any other body working with a similar object;

May I be doomed to the fate of a perjurer!"

WAR WITH GERMANY

The outbreak of war with Germany in 1914 completed the demoralisation of the Paris gang. So long as it was merely a question of revolutionary plotting and the issue of revolutionary literature in time of peace, the French Government were content to extend to the Indian exiles the same hospitality that is shown in London to similar conspirators from other countries. With the landing of the Indian expeditionary force, however, it became a question of the safety of the armies in the field, and on this point the French Government were taking no risks. Those of the conspirators who were left in France were accordingly sent to a place of safety or put under effective surveillance.

CONSPIRATORS LEAVE FRANCE

Curiously enough, several of the most prominent got away in time. As early as the end of April, 1914, it was [212] rumoured that Krishnavarma intended to leave for Switzerland. In May he paid a visit to Geneva and took a house there, and early in July he left Paris finally and took up his residence at 1, Avenue des Vollandes, Geneva. In the June number of his paper he gave his reasons for this step. "We have to leave France," he says, "in order to thwart the efforts of our internal and external enemies." By external enemies he says he means the spies of the British Government, and by internal enemies his Indian detractors. He does not mention Madame Cama by name, but quotes from an article by her on Har Dayal, published in *l'Humanite* of April 3rd, which, he says, contains a veiled attack on him and suggests that he left Har Dayal to starve in London. He ascribes Har Dayal's lack of personal sympathy with him to the machinations of his Indian maligners in Paris, who have been increasingly striving to mislead his friends and sympathisers in different parts of the world. The explanation is interesting as it confirms previous information that he had fallen out with the rest of the party, but it is perhaps not the whole truth. His departure just before the declaration of war suggests that he had had a warning, or perhaps that with his usual astuteness he saw what was coming.

INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST SUSPENDED

In Switzerland he decided to suspend the publication of his paper, the *Indian Sociologist*, and issued a statement of his reasons for this from which the following is taken. "It goes without saying that a stranger, who has sought and found an asylum in this traditionally free country, should not do anything to compromise the declared will and policy of the Government under whose flag he enjoys security of life and property in these troubled times. Moreover, it is to be remembered that any foreigner, who violates the law in this respect is liable to be fined, imprisoned or expelled as an undesirable alien. We may mention that in four cases at least the infringement of the orders of the Military authorities has recently led to the confiscation and suppression of two pamphlets and two newspapers, namely, *La Patrie Egyptienne* and *La dépêche Suisse*. Under these circumstances, it is our painful but imperative duty to remain silent while the war is raging in Europe."

OTHER CONSPIRATORS

Chattopadhyaya also had got away. A month before war was declared he was at Halle, in Germany, studying Philosophy, Sanskrit and Arabic with the object of taking a doctor's degree, and when war broke out he was taken up by the German General Staff and employed as head of the so-called "Indian National Party" in Berlin. Har Dayal, too, who had returned to Europe in the circumstances described in the chapter on America, had visited Paris, but he did not stay there long and on the outbreak of the war he was in Switzerland.

S. R. RANA

Among those left behind in Paris were Madame Cama and S. R. Rana, and the latter now began to reap the reward of his *Karma* in the matter of the lady called Mrs. Rana, for, being a German, she came under grave suspicion as a spy. Shortly after the outbreak of war Rana attempted to join the French army and to get employment as an interpreter with Indian troops but failed owing to the protest lodged by the British Government. At the beginning of October he was at Archachon, near Bordeaux, and on the 6th of the month he was arrested and interned in the Municipal Jail at Bordeaux; his house in Paris was searched and some copies of the Urdu *Ghadr* (see page 123) were found in it.

MADAME CAMA AND RANA

When war was declared Madame Cama, like other foreigners in Paris, had to obtain a *permis de séjour*; finding herself described in it as a British subject she declared that she was not a British subject but a free Hindu, but when it was pointed out that if she could not produce the license she was liable to be locked up at a moment's notice, she consented to make use of it. At the end of September she went to Marseilles, and on Saturday, October 3rd, she got into conversation with some Punjabi clerks serving with the Indian Expeditionary Force and invited them to pay her a visit on the following Monday. According to her own account they told her that they knew her by name and reputation, and [214] used to receive her paper the *Bande Mataram* through obliging friends. The clerks did not keep the appointment, and on October 25th Madame Cama was informed by the French police that she must leave Marseilles within 24 hours. She then went to Arcachon and stayed for a time with Mrs. Rana, but on November 1st she was taken to Bordeaux by the French police and told to report herself once a week. She then busied herself intriguing for Rana's release through her friend M. Jean Longuet and a M. Baylet, a Municipal Commissioner of Bordeaux and President of the Socialist *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme*, but her fussy interference did more harm than good. Rana was ordered to Martinique and sailed from Bordeaux on the 7th January, 1915, accompanied by Mrs. Rana and Ranjitsinghji, his son by his Indian wife, who had suffered for some time from consumption and died shortly after their arrival.

CHAPTER IX

AMERICA

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

In the year 1893 great interest in the people of India was aroused in the United States by the appearance at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago of an Indian *Swami* (or Monk) calling himself Swami Vivekananda. The New York Herald remarked at the time, "Vivekananda is undoubtedly the greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions; after hearing him we feel how foolish it is to send missionaries to this learned nation," and Mr. M. M. Snell, President of the Scientific Section of the Parliament, addressed a letter to the *Pioneer* of Allahabad in the course of which he said "The most important and typical representative of Hinduism was Swami Vivekananda, who, in fact, was beyond question the most popular and influential man in the Parliament. He frequently spoke, both on the floor of the Parliament itself and in the meetings of the Scientific Section, over which I had the honour to preside, and on all occasions he was received with greater enthusiasm than any other speaker, Christian or 'Pagan.' The people thronged him wherever he went and hung with eagerness on his every word. Since the Parliament he has been lecturing before large audiences in the principal cities of the United States and has received an ovation wherever he went."

LIFE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

Swami Vivekananda was a Bengali, his real name being Norendra Nath Dutt, and, as the custom is with Hindus when they take up a religious life, he adopted the other name in the same way as a Christian on becoming a monk might adopt such a name as Brother Ambrose. He was born about 1863, the eldest son of Babu Vishwanath Dutt, an attorney of the Calcutta High Court. He became a B.A. of Calcutta University, and afterwards took up the study of all the religions he could find, including the Christian and Mahomedan, but was dissatisfied with them all till he became a disciple of [216] a celebrated orthodox Hindu priest, Ram Krishna Paramahansa of the Dakshineswar Kali temple in the 24-Parganas district of Bengal. On

the death of his master Swami Vivekananda founded a society, called after him the Ram Krishna Mission, to propagate his teaching, setting up its headquarters at Belur *Math*, a temple at the village of Belur in the Howrah district near Calcutta. Like most religious revivalists Ram Krishna claimed to go back to the pure religion of his sacred books, in his case the Vedas, and on this account the Ram Krishna Mission is also known as the Vedanta Society. Swami Vivekananda died at the Belur *Math* on 4th July, 1902.

THE VEDANTA SOCIETY

In 1895, before he left America, Swami Vivekananda established a branch of the Vedanta Society in New York which became the headquarters for America of branches formed in other towns; it was a flourishing institution, and in March, 1907, the Society purchased No. 135, West 80th Street, containing a library, lecture rooms and accommodation for publication work, and providing a residence for the Swamis in charge. The various Vedanta Societies were at first a great success, principally with the ladies of the richer class of Americans. It was not for nothing that Swami Vivekananda prefaced his opening speech at the Parliament of Religions with the words "Sisters and brothers of America," and some, at least, of his followers, have devoted much more attention to the former than to the latter, to the creation of no little scandal. To the early popularity of the Vedanta Society is no doubt due, in part at least, the cordial reception which the first Hindu student emigrants to America enjoyed, but their own conduct and the deterioration in the behaviour of some of the Swamis have since rendered both classes objects of suspicion with the American public.

TEACHINGS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

A society which aims at restoring the supremacy of the Hindu religion naturally also glorifies the political status of the Hindus in the past, and the teachings of the Vedanta Society tend towards Nationalism in politics. Swami Vivekananda himself generally avoided the political side of the case, but by many Hindu Nationalists he is regarded as the guru (religious preceptor) of [217] the movement. A speech delivered by him in Calcutta in 1897, soon after his return from Europe and America, is frequently quoted by them, and the following passage gives some idea of his views :—

"I have faith in my country, and especially in the youth of my country. The youth of Bengal have the greatest of all tasks that have ever been placed on the shoulders of young men. I have travelled for the last ten years or so the whole of India, and my conviction is that from the youth of Bengal will come the power which will raise India once more to her proper spiritual place. Aye, from the youth of Bengal, with the immense amount of feeling and enthusiasm in their blood, will come those heroes who will march from one corner to the other of this earth, travel from pole to pole, preaching and teaching the eternal spiritual truths of our forefathers. And this is the great work before you. Therefore let me conclude, once more reminding you, 'Arise, awake and stop not till the desired end is reached.' Be not afraid, for all great power, throughout the history of humanity, has been with the people. From out the ranks have come all the greatest geniuses of the world, and history can only repeat itself. Be not afraid of anything. You will do marvellous work. The moment you fear, you are nobody. It is fear that is the great cause of misery in the world. It is fear that is the greatest of all superstitions. It is fear that is the cause of our woes, and it is fearlessness that brings even heaven in a moment. Therefore arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached."

His aim was first to raise the spiritual condition of the people, and he was of opinion that in India political improvement could come only through religion as he explained in another speech delivered in Calcutta. "Each nation has its own peculiar method of work. Some work through politics, some through social reforms, some through other lines. With us religion is the only ground through which we can move. The Englishman can understand religion even through politics. Perhaps the American can understand religion even through social reforms. But the Hindu can understand even politics when it is given through religion. Sociology must come [218] through religion, everything must come through religion. For that is the theme, the rest are the variations in the national life-music."

THE VEDANTA SOCIETY AND POLITICS

Some of Swami Vivekananda's followers were not so reticent. Swami Abhedananda, for a long time a very successful high priest of the Vedanta Society of New York, published under the title "India and Her People" a series of lectures deli-

vered by him in America. The book was in many parts objectionable, and in some places clearly seditious, and was proscribed under the Press Act of 1910 by the Government of Bombay. Again Bhupendra Nath Dutt, the first editor of the *Yugantar* to be convicted of sedition (see page 69) was a younger brother of Swami Vivekananda, born about 1880. He was also not unconnected with the Vedanta Society, for on his release from imprisonment in June, 1908, he took refuge at the Belur Math and concealed himself there, successfully evading a warrant for his arrest, until his departure for New York where he arrived on 16th August, 1908.

ANTI-BRITISH SOCIETIES IN NEW YORK

New York was probably chosen by Bhupendra Nath Dutt as a place of voluntary exile partly because of the help to be expected from the Society founded there by his brother, and partly because it was already a centre of anti-British intrigue. In the autumn of 1906 a society had been formed called the Pan-Aryan Association at No. 1, West 34th Street, by Samuel Lucas Joshi, a Maratha Christian, son of late Rev. Lucas Maloba Joshi of the Church Missionary Society, and Mahomed Barakattullah, a Mahomedan from Bhopal. It was helped by the Irish malcontents of the Clan-na-Gael, but it did not come to much the same may be said of the Indo-American National Association founded in September, 1907, by Myron H. Phelps, a Broadway lawyer who had already shown his anti-English tendencies by getting up an agitation during the Boer War. In November, 1907, the title of his society was changed to the "Society for the Advancement of India", which was considered less likely to give offence to the class of wealthy and influential Americans whom he wished to interest.

[219] VISIT OF MADAME CAMA

Both Societies received some encouragement from the visit to America of Madame Cama, who arrived in New York in October, 1907. According to the lady interviewer of a New York newspaper she said, "We are in slavery, and I am in America for the sole purpose of giving a thorough exposé of the British oppression, which is little understood so far away, and to interest the warmhearted citizens of this great Republic in our enfranchisement." Madame Cama addressed a few meetings in New York and elsewhere, but does not seem to have achieved conspicuous success.

CONDITIONS IN JAPAN

From the beginning of 1908 the United States began to become a refuge for young revolutionary Indians. The reasons for this were that, on the Continent of Europe, Natives of India were treated with suspicion and were not readily admitted to ammunition factories or even to technical institutions, and, except Paris, the rest of Europe was generally unfavourable for their purposes. Japan also had been tried and found wanting; it had become clear that Japan was very far from being a country with free institutions and that the Japanese made no pretence of thinking that one man was as good as another. Some of the advanced revolutionaries in India had tested the matter and discovered that their hopes in Japan were groundless; that Japan recognised no common Asiatic bond with the people of India, and was in fact chiefly engaged in planning future, territorial expansion at the expense of other Asiatic peoples, while the position of the non-Japanese already included in their Empire compared very unfavourably with the position of Indians under British rule. During 1907 references occurred from time to time in the Indian press to the want of cordiality and assistance shown to Indian students who visited that country, and the action of Japan in absorbing Korea came under unfavourable criticism. The *Bengalee* of August 2nd, 1907, writing on this subject, said: "Before the Russo-Japanese war there was hardly any topic on which the Japanese press and statesmen waxed more eloquence than the pan-Asiatic movement and the upheaval of all the [220] nations of Asia. Her Korean policy, therefore, has come as a great surprise upon the Asiatic public." The moral drawn by the *Bengalee* was that all powerful nations, whether Eastern or Western, were alike, and that the only fault of a nation was to be weak. The same question was discussed at length in a letter found in the search of the house of Arabindo Ghose in May, 1908 (see Chapter V). The letter was dated Vancouver, 26th December, 1907, and was from Surendra Mohan Bose, a Bengali student of whom more will be heard, who was sent to Japan by the Scientific and Industrial Association of Calcutta in 1906. He stated, as the result of his observations, that the Bengalis were wrong in hoping as they did for Japanese help in their national movement, although they had some sympathisers, such as Mr. Okakura, in Japan.

CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

In America the case was different; there were first of all the traditions of the country and a great parade of freedom, part of which was no doubt genuine. Then there was, in New York especially, a strong colony of discontented Irish who were always ready to take up any movement likely to embarrass the British Government. These people received with open arms natives of India with similar views who could hardly be expected to estimate correctly how much of the violent talk of the Irish malcontents was merely froth. Again, in spite of the strong colour prejudice which exists more or less throughout the United States, there were numerous educational institutions to which natives of India were admitted almost as freely and with as little prejudice as they were in England, and all subjects of study were open to them. Account must also be taken of the existence in the United States of a fairly large class, called by others the idle rich, who are prepared to be enthusiastic about any new thing, who dabble in Indian Vedantic theology, and whose charity, in the words of the Military Attaché at Washington, varies with the square of the distance. This was the class upon which Myron Phelps relied to provide funds for his institution, but it is at best a capricious source, and as the novelty wore off the subscriptions decreased. In imitation of Krishnavarma, Phelps had opened an "India House" in New York, but it had to be [221] closed for want of funds in February, 1909. An attempt was made to continue his society under the new name of the Indo-American Club but it was not a success; it held occasional meetings for about a year, mostly in the rooms of the Vedanta Society, and was finally wound up in March, 1910. With the failure of these societies, and the departure of Barakatullah for Japan in February, and S. L. Joshi and Myron H. Phelps for India in March, 1909, organised agitation amongst the Indian student community in New York came to an end. The Americans who at first interested themselves in natives of India were disappointed and disgusted with the behaviour of many of them, and ceased to assist them; for this and other reasons New York became much less popular as a resort for Indian students who betook themselves further West, mainly to San Francisco and its neighbourhood.

GEORGE FREEMAN: EARLY HISTORY

A very prominent figure in the circle of disaffected Indian students in New York was George Freeman, a member of the staff of the *Gaelic American* newspaper. He is an Irishman, born about 1836, his original name being George Fitzgerald. At the age of 19 he joined the army and served in the Crimea during the last year of the war. In the early seventies he was employed in the office of the *Daily News*, London, then under the control of Mr. Labouchere. His hatred of England arose out of the execution of a relative in the early part of the 19th century, the story of which made him swear that he would injure England whenever he could. In the course of his chequered career he farmed for 5 years in Canada, and while there he advocated the separation of Canada from Britain and became head of the Separation Party. In order to amalgamate this movement with the Clan-na-Gael he went to New York, at the invitation of William Lyman, chairman of the Clan-na-Gael, and travelled about America for that purpose.

THE FREE HINDUSTHAN

At the end of 1908 George Freeman was taking a very keen interest in the publication of the *Free Hindusthan* (see page 119), and was regarded by Indians in New York as the real leader of the anti-British movement. Reliable information [222] was received at the time that Freeman, S. L. Joshi and Barakatullah used to meet twice a week at Barakatullah's house to discuss the situation, and that George Freeman supervised the publication of the *Free Hindusthan* at the office of the paper. In 1909 he attended meetings of Indian students, and was very suspicious when questioned about them by strangers. He also warned some of his Indian friends against those whom he regarded as British spies. When the Indo-American Club came to an end in March, 1910, he was present in the building where the closing meeting was held, but he did not appear in the meeting itself.

DISSEMINATION OF SEDITION

In 1910 a curious thing happened. On September 28th the Madras Criminal Investigation Department obtained two packets posted from New York to the office of the *India* newspaper of Pondicherry, containing 14 copies of Madame Cama's *Bande Mataram* for July (see page 113), 4 copies of the *Indian Sociolo-*

gist for August (see page 106), 8 copies of the *Talwar* for April-May (see page 117), and the *Gaelic American* for August 13th and 20th. Both covers were addressed in the same handwriting, and one of them bore on the inside a printed label, similar to those with which newspapers are usually sent to subscribers, on which was written "7 G. Freeman, Esq., P.O. Box X 860, New York City, U.S.A." On the same side was also the post-mark "Amrita Bazaar, Calcutta, 23rd July, 1910." On enquiry it was ascertained that George Freeman was No. 7 in the list of subscribers to the Amrita Bazar Patrika of Calcutta, making it clear that the cover used to send the revolutionary literature detailed above to India was the cover in which he had received his copies of the Calcutta paper turned inside out. In all probability, therefore, the packet was sent by George Freeman himself, or at least from the *Gaelic American* office under his instructions; this little mistake confirmed other information regarding the source of many similar packets received at Pondicherry.

FREE HINDUSTHAN STOPPED

In September, 1910, George Freeman was sent for by Mr. Moss, the District Attorney of New York, in connection with [223] the publication of the *Free Hindusthan*. According to his own account the District Attorney told him "there was nothing in it that was criminal but very near it." After this the paper ceased to appear; George Freeman tried to save his face by stating that it was stopped because there was no money to run it, and that it would be started again under another name, but this promise was not kept.

RIFLE SILENCERS

In December, 1910, it was reported that his services in the *Gaelic American* office had been dispensed with at short notice, and it was evident that considerable pressure had been brought to bear on John Devoy, the editor, as he was known to be disinclined to lose him. As a consequence Freeman was very hard up in 1911. Amongst other things he took a great interest in procuring two specimen rifle silencers which he said were wanted for revolutionaries in India. He gave out that he had sent one to India direct, and that he was trying to procure a second for Madame Cama in Paris, "who wished to have the credit of sending one to India". The whole story of the silencers, however, was very suspicious; they were found to be easily procurable in

Paris and even in India, and there was reason to suspect that it was started by George Freeman himself for the benefit of those whom he suspected of watching him.

SUBSIDY FROM MADAME CAMA

There is no doubt that Freeman was in correspondence with Madame Cama and that she sent him money as well as copies of her paper, the *Bande Mataram*, for distribution. In an undated letter in Gujarati to S. R. Rana, written in Paris in April, 1912, Madame Cama says, "Further I hope that, as explained at some length by me to you in writing, you will kindly now resume paying 100 francs every month, because I am obliged to send every month to Freeman and Aiyar 100 francs." There is not the slightest doubt that this refers to George Freeman and V. V. S. Aiyar; in the original it was not clear whether it meant 100 francs each or 100 francs between the two, but the point was afterwards elucidated and it was found that 50 francs a month were sent to each.

IMPORTANCE OF GEORGE FREEMAN

[224] Towards the end of 1911, owing to a vacancy in the *Gaelic American* office, Freeman again obtained employment there, and he seems to have taken a lesson and withdrawn from active participation in Indian affairs. He was of some importance as a link between the Clan-na-Gael and the Indian revolutionaries, but he did not do much useful work except by way of distributing seditious literature and egging on young Indians in New York and elsewhere to work for the downfall of British rule in India. (See also page 300).

INCITEMENT TO ASSASSINATION

The following example of his methods of incitement came to light in a curious way. In February, 1914, the house of Fazlul Hasan alias Hasrat Mohani of Aligarh, who was convicted of publishing sedition in 1908 and after his release continued to associate with Hindu and Mahomedan agitators, was searched in connection with the Delhi conspiracy case. Among the papers seized was a cover posted at Corvallis (Oregon, United States of America) on 25th June, 1906, enclosing two letters and a slip of paper on which was written, "Don't throw these letters in the basket. Think it over and show to others. He is a great statesman of America." One of the letters was

complete, except that the names of the writer and the addressee had been carefully erased; of the second letter only the second and third pages were found. In the complete letter the writer speaks of the British nation "bleeding and plundering India," and continues, "Mr. Krishnavarma is working along the right lines, and if he can only persuade enough people among the educated intelligentsia of India to his views, and propagate them among the people, the winning of the battle of India's freedom and independence will have begun. The nation or people that not only allows itself to be plundered but gives its intelligence or force to help its plunderers is doomed to slavery and extinction." The incomplete letter begins as follows "* * * * adopt Russian revolutionary methods with Fuller and such like, it would make them a good deal more careful. That I suppose will come with time." [225] By Fuller the writer obviously means Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the newly constituted province of Eastern Bengal (see page 5), and the incitement to assassinate him, though expressed in the hypothetical form usual in this class of correspondence, is plain enough. It was afterwards established that these letters were written by George Freeman.

SEDITIONOUS PROPAGANDA IN NEW YORK

Though nothing practical was done at that time in New York there is no doubt that there was a good deal of revolutionary talk in Indian circles. Evidence of this may be found in the following question put by Barakatullah in writing to Mr. T. P. O'Connor at a meeting of the United Irish League held in New York on 21st October, 1906. "Mr. M. Barakatullah of Bhopal, India, would like to ask Mr. O'Connor as a representative of the Irish Parliamentary party, whether, in the event of the Indian people rising against the oppressive and tyrannical rule of England in India, and in case England should concede Home Rule to Ireland, Mr. O'Connor would be in favour of the Irish people furnishing soldiers to the British Army to crush the Indian people." Mr. O'Connor declined to be drawn, and no answer is recorded. Again, in 1907, the *Gaelic American* reported a meeting of Indians held in New York about the middle of June at which resolutions were passed repudiating the right of any foreigner (Mr. Morley) to dictate the future of the Indian people, urging their countrymen to depend upon themselves alone

and especially on boycott and *swadeshi*, condemning the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, and expressing detestation of the action of the British authorities in openly instigating one class of Indians against another as at Jamalpur and other places.

BARAKATULLAH

In August of the same year Barakatullah had a letter published in the *New York Sun* in which he says that Englishmen are getting nervous because the Hindus and Muslims are drawing together and the success of Nationalism seems to be nearer. The struggle at present between the leaders of the people in India and the British Government is over [226] the issue whether the people should be united with the tie of patriotism or should be kept hostile to one another. The leaders have made up their minds to work up the union at all hazards and have a great hope of success. The writer expresses his satisfaction that Mr. John Morley has commenced to govern India as a conqueror, for by so doing he has given a stimulus to the national movement. This, however, was very mild compared with a letter of his, in the Persian language, which appeared in the *Urdu Mualla* of Aligarh, United Provinces, in May, 1907. In the course of this Barakatullah strongly advocates the necessity for unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, and defines the two chief duties of Mahomedans as patriotism and friendship with all Mahomedans outside of India. The performance of both these duties depends entirely upon one rule of conduct, namely concord and unity with the Hindus of India in all political matters. He alleges that Europeans despise the people of Asia and regard them as "irrational brutes," and he attributes the oppression of the English to the weakness of the Hindus themselves. He asserts that the Christians of Europe have girded up their loins to avenge themselves upon the Mahomedans and are determined utterly to reduce them, so that if the Mahomedans continue in enmity with the Hindus troubles will come upon them in comparison with which the calamities suffered in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Crete at the hands of the Christians will prove insignificant. He contends that it is by India's wealth that the English maintain their military strength, and by India's wealth that they have brought into subjection Egypt, the Soudan, Persia, the Persian Gulf and the Mahome-

dan countries lying to the North and East of Africa; and he alleges that the English are trying to bring under their control Arabia, Syria and Persia. After a great deal more in the same strain he says that it is the Mahomedans of India who, by their loyalty to the British Government, are laying the axe at the root of the stability of the independent Islamic countries, while Europeans and Americans regard the dead nationality of the followers of Mahomed as a rubbish heap which chokes the growth of their ambitions and aspirations and should therefore be destroyed. He concludes that, in order to get rid of this corrupt organisation and absurd form of [227] Government, (meaning the British) it is necessary that Hindus and Mahomedans should unite and claim equal rights and privileges with the English, and he warns them that otherwise the law of nature which commands self-preservation will operate in making India an independent country like the United States of America. This end can be achieved without rebellion by an organised system of boycott and by taking prisoner all Europeans simultaneously.

CENTRE TRANSFERRED TO SAN FRANCISCO

The views expressed here and in the articles which were appearing in the *Free Hindusthan* (see page 119) are a very fair indication of the kind of talk that was going on in Indian Clubs and meetings in New York at that time. The plotting, however, did not develop into any serious conspiracy, such as that which was afterwards formed in San Francisco and other places on the West Coast in the following circumstances.

SEDITION ON THE PACIFIC COAST

Towards the end of 1906 a large number of Hindus, as natives of India, whatever their religion, are called in America, began to arrive on the West Coast of Canada and the United States. A conflict consequently arose between Indian labour and 'white labour which eventually led, early in 1907, to the violent expulsion of Hindu labourers from mills at Bellingham, in the State of Washington, and other places in the United States, and to their taking refuge in Vancouver, British Columbia. Most of the "Hindus" were Sikh labourers and artisans from the Punjab, and among them, but not a Sikh, was a sharp-witted youth named Ram Nath Puri, born about 1880, the son of Jawala Mul Puri of village Khem Karan, in the Lahore dis-

trict. He had been a bank clerk in Lahore on Rs. 20 a month, and in 1905, whilst so employed, he wrote one or two objectionable pamphlets and prepared and published a seditious cartoon entitled *India-ka-photo* (A picture of India) which represented his country as already in the last stages of emaciation and being bled to death by the English. Towards the end of 1906 he went to America where he obtained employment as a watchman at a hospital on 30 dollars a month. He [228] then set up as interpreter to the Sikhs who were arriving in California in large numbers, and is said to have employed his talents in cheating many of them. Early in 1907 he started a so-called Hindustan Association in San Francisco, with branches in Vancouver and Astoria, and published in connection with it a lithographed Urdu periodical called the *Circular-i-Azadi* (Circular of Freedom) the importation of which into India had to be prohibited on account of its seditious character. It was published first in San Francisco, and afterwards in Oakland, California, and came to an end for want of funds early in 1908.

CIRCULAR OF FREEDOM

In the issues of the *Circular of Freedom* for July and August, 1907, the editor stated the objects of the Indian Association, among which were to impart instruction to Indians on national lines, to teach gun-firing, Japanese exercises, and the use of the spear, sword, and other weapons in self-defence, and to foster American sympathy with India. The August number had an article advocating the boycott of Government laws and Government services, and both numbers contained extracts from the *Gaelic American* and from Indian newspapers, selected with the obvious intention of creating feelings of hatred and contempt for the British Raj in India.

TARAKNATH DAS

Before the end of 1907 Taraknath Das, who afterwards became of much greater importance than Ram Nath Puri, was already associated with the Vancouver branch of the movement. He is mentioned in the *Circular of Freedom* as one of the treasurers of the Indian Association, and not long after that periodical came to an end he started his own paper, the *Free Hindusthan*. An account of this paper and of Taraknath's earlier career is given in Chapter IV (see page 119). Being a Bengali

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he was unable to talk to the Sikhs in their own language, and his paper was unintelligible to the great majority as few of the Sikhs could read a word of English. His influence at the time for harm was therefore considerably less than might be inferred from the language of his paper, but there is no doubt that, such as it was, it was inimical to [229] the British Government and prepared the ground for the serious trouble which arose later.

APPEAL TO THE SIKHS

That Taraknath Das intended to appeal to the Sikhs, especially those connected with the army, is clear from the following extract from the *Free Hindusthan* for September-October, 1909 :—

THE AWAKENING OF THE SIKHS

They refuse to wear medals and titles of slavery.

“The Sikh soldiery is known as the backbone of the British Empire in India. It is gratifying to know that the Sikhs are awakening to the sense that they are nothing better than slaves, and are serving the British Government to put our mother country in perpetual slavery. The religion of the Sikhs is to help the downtrodden and crush tyrants. On October 3rd, 1909, a very interesting incident took place in the Sikh Temple of Vancouver, B. C., Canada. One Sardar Natha Singh stood up before the assembly and humbly pleaded for the deplorable condition of our countrymen in India and other parts of the world, especially in the British colonies. In conclusion he presented a resolution to the following effect :

“Resolved that no member of the Executive Committee of the Sikh Temple should wear any kind of medals, buttons, uniforms or insignia which may signify that the position of the party wearing the article is nothing but a slave to the British supremacy”.

“He cleverly argued that the medals they wore signify that they fought for the British as mercenaries against the cause of our fellow-countrymen, or some free people. The medals acquired by serving in the British army ought to be regarded as medals of slavery. The audience solemnly and unanimously accepted the proposal. Sardar Gharib Singh, a member of the committee of the Sikh Temple, and formerly sepoy 2760 in the Fourteenth Sikh Regiment, who went to China during the Boxer trouble and acquired a medal for chivalry, took off his medal

and declared that he should not wear any medal or uniform acknowledging supremacy of the [230] British. Later on Sardar Bhag Singh, the Secretary of the Khalsa Divan, who served in the Tenth Bengal Lancer Regiment for over five years, made a bonfire with his certificate of honourable discharge. The above incidents are a few of the many genuine proofs of the awakening of the Sikhs. Coming in contact with free people and institutions of free nations, some of the Sikhs, though labourers in the North American Continent, have assimilated the idea of liberty and trampled the medals of slavery. There is in this a lesson for the so-called educated people of India and their moderate leaders."

G. D. KUMAR

In January, 1910, a paper more directly addressed to the Sikhs, as it was in their own language, Gurmukhi, was started in Vancouver by G. D. Kumar, a native of Bannu in the North-West Frontier of India, who began life as apprentice to an Indian photographer at Rawal Pindi. In 1907 he was in Calcutta where he taught Hindi and Urdu for a short time in the National College and resided at the Maratha Lodge, a boarding-house frequented by revolutionary suspects. He landed in Victoria, B. C., on the 31st October, 1907, and started a grocery store with the help of Taraknath Das whom he had met in Calcutta. In February, 1908, he was stated in the Canadian press to be the head of a seditious organisation among the Sikh labourers, but he repudiated this charge in a letter published in the *Punjabee* of Lahore of 5th November, 1908, in which he described himself as a Sikh and signed himself G. D. Kumar Singh. He was still in Victoria in 1909 but was constantly visiting Seattle, and in August he went to live there, associating again with Taraknath Das. Three months later he went to Vancouver and opened the *Swadesh Sewak* Home at 1632, 2nd Avenue West, Fairview, Vancouver. The building was used for the office and press of his paper, and for a night school teaching English and Mathematics.

THE SWADESH SEWAK

The paper also was called the *Swadesh Sewak* (Servant of the Country) and was published once a month. Its tone gradually became more and more objectionable, and as it was addressed principally to the Sikhs in the Indian [231] Army in

their own language, and was being sent out to India in considerable numbers (the total circulation in India and America being about 500) its importation into India was prohibited in March, 1911, under the Sea Customs Act.

SIKH GRIEVANCES

At first G. D. Kumar confined himself to the grievances of the Sikhs, arising out of the restrictions imposed on Indian immigration by the laws of Canada, which formed the foundation of much future trouble. In the May, 1910, number of the *Swadesh Sewak* he gave an account of meetings held at Vancouver on April 24th and Victoria on May 15th at which the following were the main grievances discussed :—

- (1) The law creates an unfair distinction between the European and the Indian subjects of the British Government.
- (2) Indians are subjected to additional disgrace in that even Japanese are admitted more readily than they are.
- (3) Only Indians who have come direct from an Indian port are admitted. (Two examples of the working of this rule are given).
- (4) As there is no direct route from India to Canada the above rule operates to prevent immigration altogether.
- (5) Other countries, *e.g.*, the United States, have laws to prohibit the immigration of Chinese and other labourers; but Canada prohibits even the immigration of Indian merchants and students, as in the case of Jogesh Chandra Misra who was sent out by a Calcutta Association as a student, was prevented from landing, and is now studying at Seattle University.
- (6) Even the members of the families of Indians owning land in Canada have to show 200 dollars each on landing.
- (7) The present law is a restriction on the liberty of the subject.
- (8) Other British subjects get a vote after six months' residence, but Indians do not. No [232] such anti-Indian distinctions exist in America, Germany or Japan; the result of the Canadian law is that Indians

have to admit with regret that they are better off in foreign countries than in British territory.

OTHER SIKH NEWSPAPERS

G. D. Kumar's paper came to an end in 1911. Though it was not so outrageous as the *Free Hindusthan* the editor's association with Taraknath Das raised the presumption that his influence was on the side of sedition, and this was confirmed by the discovery early in 1911 that copies of Madame Cama's *Bande Mataram* and of the *Talvar* (see Chapter IV) could be obtained through the *Swadesh Sewak* office. One or two other papers for the Indian community on the West Coast were started from time to time, the *Pardeshi Khalsa* (The Sikh Abroad) in 1910, the *Aryan* in 1911 and the *Sansar* (World) in 1912, but none of them attained any great prominence for good or evil or enjoyed a very long career. One way in which they sometimes did a good deal of harm was in reprinting, and thus drawing the attention of Sikhs in America and India to the vulgar effusions of certain Canadian papers on the immigration question. One specimen from the issue of the *Aryan* for March-April, 1912 will suffice; it is headed "practising the Ten Commandments"—"The smoke-coloured Hindu, exotic, unmixable, picturesque, a languid worker and a refuge for fleas, we will always have with us, but we don't want any more of him. We don't want any Hindu women. We don't want any Hindu children. It's nonsense to talk about Hindu assimilation. The Sikh may be of Aryan stock; I always thought he was of Jewish extraciton. He may be near-white though he does not look it. But we know him, and don't want any more of him. British Columbia cannot allow any more of the dark meat of the world to come to this province. To deport these British subjects from India would be the wisest thing. These Sikhs are far too obtrusive. They are of no use to the country. British Columbia would be a hundred times better off without them. Certainly no more of them must be allowed to come."

[233] SIKH DISAFFECTION

This article illustrates the bitterness of feeling created by the immigration question, and in June, 1912, the Canadian Government attempted to calm things down by admitting to Canada, as an act of grace, the wives and children of Bhag Singh (see page

229), President of the Khalsa Diwan (Sikh Assembly), and Balwant Singh. This had little effect as the following incident shows. In connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Governor-General of Canada to Vancouver on 18th September, 1912, the Mayor of Vancouver wrote on August 27th to the secretary of the Khalsa Diwan inviting the Sikh veterans in Vancouver to attend a military review there on September 19th, and offering to discuss the details. After waiting till September 8th, and apparently without holding any general meeting, Bhag Singh, as President, replied that the retired soldiers would not be able to attend the review "on many reasonable grounds which are already known to the city officials and the Immigration Department." This reply was handed to the Mayor on September 9th by a prominent colonial socialist. The day before the arrival of His Royal Highness many Hindus enquired why they had not been permitted to take any part in the festivities; they were told what had happened, with the result that a good deal of displeasure was expressed at the conduct of Bhag Singh, and both in Vancouver and in Victoria many Sikhs wearing their decorations were noticed in the crowd, although they took no part in the reviews. At New Westminster a loyal address was presented to His Royal Highness by the local Sikhs; it is believed that this was arranged by some of the leading Sikhs in Vancouver in order to remove the unfortunate impression created by Bhag Singh's conduct.

SIKH SEDITION

The Sikhs were evidently not generally disaffected at this stage, but strenuous efforts were now being made to turn their natural resentment against the Canadian immigration laws into active hostility to the British Government. Taraknath Das had been doing this for some time, and in June, 1913, he sent from Berkeley, California, to a leading member of the Indian revolutionary party a letter in [234] which he said "I am now working with the Sikh brothers in the actual field. I feel as I always felt and wrote to you that there is always a dearth of true workers who can work among the mass people (*sic*) the backbone of India. If Sirdar (*sic*) Ajit Singh is available and willing to come to United States I can send you a ticket from Europe to United States at any time. I have talked the matter with my Sikh friends, and they have promised to do all they can to carry on the work, but where is the real worker? Please do your best to

send Sirdarji if it is at all possible." The contents of the paper formerly published by Taraknath Das and the previous career of Ajit Singh (see page 23), leave no doubt as to the nature of the work upon which the former was engaged. The use in this letter of the curious expression "the mass people" indicated that Taraknath Das was the writer of an article which appeared in Madame Cama's *Bande Mataram* in March, 1913. It was called "What shall we do then?" by "A retired Hindu Soldier," and in it the writer said "Some time ago we pointed out that our revolutionary movement must culminate in Open War against our tyrants. This war can only be successful if we be backed up by the mass people and the regular army."

HAR DAYAL

A new worker of great importance in the same field was Har Dayal who arrived in the United States early in 1911 (see page 197). He made his way to Berkeley, California, and here he became acquainted with Dr. A. S. Ryder, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of California, and Dr. Stuart of the Leland Stanford University situated at Palo Alto, California, both of whom were interested in Eastern Philosophy. In February, 1912, he was appointed Professor of Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit at the latter institution. He resided at 272 Hamilton Street, Palo Alto, and delivered a series of lectures during the session commencing in March, 1912, but in September of the same year he resigned his post and returned to Berkeley to take up revolutionary work. When the news of the attempt to assassinate the Viceroy at Delhi on 23rd December, 1912, reached Berkeley, Har Dayal is said to have claimed credit for it as the work of his party; there [235] is little doubt that he was the author of the *Yugantar Circle* shortly afterwards issued from Paris in praise of the bomb-thrower (see page 127).

In 1913 he went on a lecturing tour, the character of which may be inferred from the following summary prepared from notes taken at a lecture delivered on 4th June, 1913, in the Finnish Socialist Hall at Astoria, where some 200 Sikh labourers were employed in the lumber yards. After the usual remarks about the drain of wealth from India and the consequent prevalence of famine and disease, he said that the Delhi durbar cost five million dollars while the people went hungry. "King George number ~~whatever~~ number that fellow is" went there to make a show,

and 30,000 dollars were spent on a rose garden near the Queen's tent for a three days' show. Personal liberty was unknown in India, and the Government there was "the worst Government on the face of the earth." Torture in prison was not uncommon, and there was no justice in the court's in cases between a Hindu and an Englishman. When a native was murdered by an Englishman the Englishman was charged only with assault. "The Government figures that the man would have died eventually anyhow." The Roman Empire, the French before the Revolution, or even the Russian Empire was not worse than the British Government in India. It could not be reformed and it must be abolished. The Government tried to suppress the revolutionary movement started eight years ago. All were invited to help in teaching this poor people to rise against the tyrant Government. He called it the British Vampire not the British Empire. In 10 years the revolution would be brought about by actual warfare. Two-thirds of the army in India were Indians, and received only four dollars a month as against the 25 dollars paid to English soldiers.

THE GHADR

Har Dayal and his followers came out still further into the open by starting the Ghadr newspaper in San Francisco in November, 1913. The quotations from this paper given in Chapter IV leave nothing more to be said about its tone. In editing it Har Dayal was ably seconded by another Hindu named Ram Chandra, usually [236] surnamed Peshawari as he belongs to the Peshawar District. Before he left India this man had been for some time editor of two seditious papers, the *India* of Gujranwala and the *Akash* of Delhi, and he was a very intimate friend of Amir Chand who was sentenced to death in the Delhi Conspiracy Case. Ram Chandra left India at the end of 1911 for Japan, and arrived in Seattle on 13th March, 1913, from Yokohama. He went on a lecturing tour with Har Dayal, ending up at San Francisco, where he at once became prominent; he was a member of the committee which founded the *Yugantar Ashram* and the *Ghadr* newspaper, and at a dinner given in his honour by Har Dayal on 16th January, 1914, it was announced that he would take over the editorship.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

In British Columbia, too, revolution was being actively preached. On the 27th December, 1913, a meeting was held in the Sikh Temple at Vancouver, B.-C., under the presidency of Husain Rahim, *alias* C. K. Varma. Several speeches were delivered demanding vengeance on the officials of the Immigration Department and those traitorous Indians who assisted them. A poem from the *Ghadr* urging the Hindus to drive the British out of India was read. The most important speech was made by one Raja Singh. He proposed to send a delegation to India to ask Government to hand over the management of the Khalsa College at Amritsar to the Sikhs. He dwelt on the hardships which Indians endured under British rule and called on them to rise against their oppressors. Finally he referred to the bomb outrage at Delhi, and said that the fact that the perpetrator was still at large proved that any patriotic Hindu who struck a blow at British tyranny would be assisted by his countrymen and would easily escape.

HUSAIN RAHIM

Husain Rahim who presided at this meeting was editor of a newly started paper, the *Hindusthanee*. His real name is Chagan Khairaj Varma; he was born about 1865, and is a Hindu, Lohana Bania by caste, and a native of Porbandar State in Kathiawar. He went to Japan in 1895, and after some years, finding himself unable to settle up the liabilities which he had incurred, he bolted to [237] Honolulu with a large sum of money under the Mahomedan name of Husain Rahim. Under this name he arrived in Vancouver on 14th January, 1910, and falsely gave out that he was a Mahomedan and native of Delhi; he obtained admission to Canada by representing himself as a tourist desiring to visit Montreal. An attempt was made to have him deported in October, 1910, but the case was taken into court and decided in his favour by Mr. Justice Murphy in February, 1911. Having proved successful in his own case he afterwards interested himself in securing admission to Canada for other natives of India in the same way, and became a source of great annoyance to the Immigration Department. He also became a leader of the agitation against the immigration laws, and took a prominent part in stirring up discontent in the Indian community. A second attempt was made to deport him under an Act passed in May, 1910, but

this case also was decided in his favour by Mr. Justice Morrison, on the ground that he had been in residence in Canada before the Act was passed.

Raja Singh, the chief speaker at the meeting mentioned above, belongs to the Hoshiarpur District of the Punjab, and was at the time Secretary of the United India League, Vancouver.

GHADR CONSPIRACY

The ramifications of the *Ghadr* conspiracy now extended very far afield. In May, 1913, G. D. Kumar who has been already mentioned (see page 230) sailed from San Francisco for the Philippine Islands, and the object of his journey was plainly expressed in a letter written by him from Manila to Taraknath Das in which he said "I am going to establish base at Manila (P.I.) forwarding Depôt, supervise the work near China, Hong-kong, Shanghai. Professor Barakatullah is all right in Japan."

HAR DAYAL

The speeches delivered by Har Dayal during his lecturing tour in 1913, of which a specimen has just been given, came to the notice of the United States authorities, and on 26th March, 1914, he was arrested with a view to his deportation as an undesirable alien. He was released on [238] bail of a thousand dollars and absconded to Switzerland before the case came on for hearing, leaving Ram Chandra Peshawari to run the paper and to manage the revolutionary headquarters in the *Yugantar Ashram* at San Francisco. Soon after his arrest Har Dayal stated his case in the public press. He admitted that the aim of his life was to bring about a revolution in India, but denied that he had ever countenanced the assassination of individuals or preached anarchist doctrines. There was nothing in his writings, he said, to which a parallel could not be found in the writings of Mr. W. J. Bryan. He attributed his arrest to English influence. "It is the despicable pro-British subservience of the United States that is responsible for my arrest. The democratic administration is licking the boots of England." The case appears to have aroused much interest in the Western States, and Har Dayal's version was generally accepted by the local press. On the 4th of April the Commissioner of the Immigration Department issued a statement to the press, to the effect that the arrest of Har Dayal was due to the reports of officers of the department on the anarchical

lectures, delivered by him in Oregon and San Francisco during 1913, that the Government of Great Britain had not requested either directly or indirectly that action should be taken against him, and that the department was not concerned with anything that might be occurring in India. The explanation is interesting as an indication of the detached attitude towards the work of the *Ghadr* party adopted at that time by the authorities of San Francisco.

BHAGWAN SINGH

On May 22nd, 1914, the *Ghadr* party was strengthened by the arrival in San Francisco of Bhagwan Singh, a Sikh of Amritsar, who left India about 1910 and became *Granthi* (Priest) of the Sikh Temple at Hong Kong. The three years during which he remained at Hong Kong were marked by continuous disputes and litigation among the Sikhs; they were settled by compromise in May, 1913, one of the conditions being that Bhagwan Singh should leave the Colony, and he emigrated to Canada under the name of Natha Singh. Very soon after his arrival he was reported to be preaching sedition [239] among the Indian settlers. He was in touch with the San Francisco agitators, who expected him to visit the United States at the end of 1913, but before he could do so he was deported by the Canadian Government. The *Ghadr* party took his deportation very badly, and issued early in 1914 a leaflet in "Gurmukhi 'headed 'Zulm! Zulm! Gore Shahi Zulm! (Tyranny! Tyranny! Tyranny of White Rule!), which concluded by inviting Indians, to take up the sword and slay the English; he was evidently, therefore, regarded as a person of some importance. He arrived in San Francisco accompanied by the notorious Professor Barakatullah and both joined the *Yugantar Ashram*.

THE KOMAGATA MARU

The campaign of sedition and revolution which was being actively conducted at this time on the West Coast of America by *Ghadr* party was greatly assisted by the unfortunate events attending the voyage of the *Komagata Maru*. It was an attempt to defy the Immigration laws of Canada as defined in the Canadian Immigration Act of 1910 (amended in 1911), and the Orders in Council passed thereunder. The orders then in force were issued on the 7th of January, 1914; they provided that, in addition to

the general restrictions imposed upon all immigrants into the Dominion, every Asiatic immigrant before he was allowed to enter Canada must satisfy the authorities, save in particular cases, that he was in possession of 200 Canadian dollars and had travelled by continuous journey from his native country to Canada on a through ticket.

OBJECTS OF THE EXPEDITION

In January, 1911, Gurdit Singh the leader of the *Komagata Maru* expedition arrived in Hong Kong. He belonged to the Amritsar District, and had been for some years a contractor in Singapore and the Malay States. At this time there were about 150 Sikhs in Hong Kong waiting for an opportunity to emigrate to Canada, and Gurdit Singh proposed to charter a vessel and take them there. On February, 13th, he published an advertisement for intending emigrants explaining in some detail what his proposals were. From [240] the statements in this advertisement it is clear that he was well aware of the restrictions imposed by the Canadian law on the immigration of Asiatics into that country; but he added that this law had been declared invalid by a decision of Chief Justice Hunter, dated the 24th November, 1913. Nevertheless he proposed to avoid the effect of these restrictions by chartering a Chinese steamer to proceed from Calcutta to Vancouver and by raising subscriptions to provide indigent immigrants with the 200 dollars which the law required.

VOYAGE TO VANCOUVER

There was some difficulty in finding a ship, but in March, 1914, the *Komagata Maru* was chartered from a Japanese firm through a Mr. Bune, a German shipping agent at Hong Kong, and on April 4th the ship sailed with 165 Punjabi passengers. At Shanghai 111 new passengers were taken on board, 86 at Moji and 14 at Yokohama, and the *Komagata Maru* left for Vancouver with 376 Punjabis on board, of whom 25 were Mahomedans and the rest Sikhs. There is some evidence that on the voyage across Gurdit Singh delivered seditious speeches; what is known for certain is that copies of the *Ghadr* (see page 123) were received on board at Shanghai, Moji and Yokohama, that at the last named port the ship was visited by Bhagwan Singh and Barakatullah and that the former delivered a spirited address to the passengers advising them to rise against the British Government in India.

Gurdit Singh, as shown above, was not ignorant of the Canadian law. In a notice which appeared very shortly before the ship sailed, and purported to be issued by him, the following statement is made :—

“What led me to this work is that when I came to Hong Kong in January, 1914, I could not bear the troubles of those who were in the *Gurdwara* waiting to go to Vancouver. They had been waiting there for years and living at their own expense; how tyrannical and hard was this on our brothers! This affected my mind, with the result that I resolved to take them to Vancouver in any circumstances. I promised the passengers that if no company would issue tickets to them, and they wrote to me, I would do the [241] needful and fight out the case in the Supreme Court of Vancouver, to get the matter settled for ever. If the Canadian Government prevent us from landing I will ask many questions of our Government and will not return until the matter is finally settled, and I will notify full details of these proceedings to the people of India.”

EVENTS AT VANCOUVER

Apparently the passengers believed that Gurdit Singh would get them into Canada somehow, and in this frame of mind the leader and his followers arrived at Vancouver on 23rd May, 1914. The local authorities refused to allow the immigrants, with certain exceptions, to land as they had failed to comply with the requirements of the law. Permission to disembark was, however, granted to some of the passengers, including Dr. Raghunath Singh, the medical officer of the ship. Both on the ship and in Vancouver meetings of protest were held, and violent language was used against the Canadian and the British Governments, between which, as usual, no distinction was made. A test case in the name of one Mansa Singh was taken into court, but his application was rejected. Meantime there was trouble about the payment of the charter transferred to the names of Bhag Singh and Husain Rahim.

After the failure of Mansa Singh's case the authorities ordered the Japanese captain to remove the vessel, but the passengers refused to let him get up steam or weigh anchor, and a body of police sent to enforce the order was repulsed after an affray in which 22 police officers were injured, and the captain of the police launch had two ribs broken. A Government vessel with an armed

force was requisitioned, whereupon the passengers came to terms and consented to go after getting out of the Canadian Government a very ample supply of provisions. This incident is described as follows in the history of the voyage afterwards found amongst Gurdit Singh's papers :—

“24,000 dollars worth of provisions were supplied to us. To copy the example of the avaricious and deceitful *Feringhis* we said we would not sail until a hundred [242] goats, fowls and eggs had been supplied. We began to have faith in our own strength. We got 24,000 dollars worth of provisions by shoe-beating a few of them. More threatenings would surely produce goats, eggs and fowls.”

VOYAGE TO INDIA

Leaving Vancouver on July 23rd, the *Komagata Maru* proceeded *viâ* Yokohama, where an unsuccessful attempt was made to squeeze further supplies out of the British Consul, to Kobe which was reached on 21st August. The Consul here was more amenable, and the ship left on September 3rd for Calcutta, about £900 having been paid in cash, on his recommendation, to Gurdit Singh for the purchase of provisions which were in fact not required. At the end of September the *Komagata Maru* arrived at the mouth of the Hooghly river, and measures were taken to assist indigent passengers to their homes in the Punjab and to prevent any undesirable agitation and disturbance in Calcutta on their arrival. With this object the Bengal Government, in consultation with the Government of the Punjab, decided to utilise the provisions of the Ingress into India Ordinance of 1914, which empowered the Government of India to restrict the liberty of any person entering India after the 5th September, if such action was necessary in order to protect the State from the prosecution of some purpose prejudicial to its safety, interest or tranquility

OUTBREAK AT BUDGE BUDGE

Accordingly on 27th September the ship and the luggage of the passengers were examined at Kulpi, on the Hooghly river, and at 11 a.m. on the 29th the *Komagata Maru* was moored at the passengers were examined at Kulpi on the Hooghly river, and proceed to the special train which was in readiness to convey them without charge to the Punjab. The whole day was spent

in fruitless endeavours to get them to go quietly, the force on the spot being hopelessly inadequate for the employment of any other methods to enforce the orders of Government, and about 4 p.m. the Sikhs, numbering about 250, started to march in a body to Calcutta some 15 miles away. Troops were requisitioned by [243] telephone and rushed down from Fort William (Calcutta) in motor cars. Meantime the progress of the Sikhs was arrested by a body of European police 4 or 5 miles from Budge Budge, and they were half persuaded and half forced to return. They were collected near the station, and as it was getting dark there was a pause to make arrangements for the night. Gurdit Singh was called for in order that the position might be explained to him, but he refused to come and a European Police Superintendent stepped forward into the crowd. The Sikhs apparently thought that Gurdit Sing was going to be arrested; they closed round the Inspector, and one of them fired a shot which probably was the one that mortally wounded him. This was instantly followed by indiscriminate firing on the police, and a general mêlée ensued which for a few minutes prevented the troops, whose arrival was apparently unknown to the Sikhs, from firing. When the police had succeeded in extricating themselves the troops received orders to fire and the Sikhs scattered. Twenty of the rioters, as well as two Indian residents of Budge Budge, were killed, and on the other side two Europeans and two Indian policemen from the Punjab lost their lives. Six Europeans and five men of the Punjab police party were injured, including Sir Frederick Halliday, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, Mr. R. Humphreys, I.C.S., of the Punjab Commission, and Mr. D. Petrie of the Punjab Police.

COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY

This unfortunate accident created much feeling against Government. At the very outset, when the expedition was starting from Hong Kong, the authorities there tried to prevent it; they believed the passengers would not be allowed to land at Vancouver, but there was no law under which the ship's departure could be prohibited so it had to be allowed to go. The average Indian draws no fine distinctions between the Governments of Hong Kong, Canada, India and Britain; to him they are all simply the Sirkar or Government. The form the complaints took, therefore, was that the Sirkar had let them start

from Hong Kong, the Sirkar had prevented their landing at Vancouver, and the Sirkar had had them all arrested at Budge Budge and in doing so had shot down large [244] numbers. The fact that on the return voyage the passengers were not allowed to land at Hong Kong or at Singapore was an additional grievance. The matter gave rise to so much criticism and so many exaggerations in the press and elsewhere that the Government of India appointed, in October, 1914, a Committee of Enquiry into the whole circumstances of the voyage and the landing at Budge Budge, and it is from their report that this short account of the main incidents has been compiled. During the night following the riot the Sikhs dispersed among the neighbouring towns and villages, and most of them were eventually rounded up. By the end of October all but 29 had been accounted for. Of the 321 passengers on the ship 62 left quietly for the Punjab, leaving 259 all more or less concerned in the riot; of these 18 had been killed or died of wounds, one was found drowned, 9 were in hospital and 202 in jail. Gurdit Singh himself may have been one of the 29 that got away, but he has never been heard of since.

ARMS PLOT IN VANCOUVER

While the *Komagata Maru* was in Vancouver harbour attempts were made to procure arms and ammunition to smuggle on board. About the end of June, 1914, two Sikhs named Harnam Singh (of Sahri, Hosiarpur) and Hukam Singh tried to purchase 25 automatic pistols in Victoria, but were refused, whereupon Harnam Singh stated to the salesman that they could easily get what they wanted at Port Angeles, Washington, where a countryman named Taraknath Das had made arrangements to assist them in their purchases. Three weeks later the same Harnam Singh and three other Sikhs, Bhag Singh, Balwant Singh and Mewa Singh, crossed into the United States and met Taraknath Das at a place called Sumas. On his return to Canada Mewa Singh was arrested with 2 automatic pistols and 500 rounds of ammunition which he said he had purchased in Sumas. The remaining three were still there; they had been allowed to cross the frontier by mistake, as orders had been passed some time before prohibiting their entry into the United States, and when these facts came to the notice of the United States authorities they were arrested and found to be each armed with automatic

pistols and [245] ammunition. Besides Taraknath Das it was found that Bhagwan Singh, whose arrival in San Francisco is mentioned above, was also in the plot.

SIKH EXODUS

When the war broke out in August, 1914, great excitement was observed among the Sikhs in America, and the members of the *Yugantar Ashram* of San Francisco started a campaign to induce Indians to return to India to start a revolution. In the beginning of August meetings were held at all the principal centres of the Indian population in California and Oregon and a sum of 2,000 dollars was collected. The principal speakers at these meetings were Ram Chandra Peshawari, Mahomed Barakatullah and Bhagwan Singh, all of whom have been recently mentioned, and Gobind Behari Lal of Delhi, a great friend of Har Dayal, who came to Berkeley in 1912 and was one of the most energetic members of the *Ghadr* staff.

The disaffected Sikhs apparently made no secret of their intention, as the following paragraph from the *Portland (Oregon) Telegram* of 7th August, 1914, indicates :—

“HINDUS GO HOME TO FIGHT IN REVOLUTION”

“Astoria (Oregon) August 7th. Every train and boat for the South carries large numbers of Hindus from this city and if the exodus keeps up much longer Astoria will be entirely deserted by the East Indians. The majority of the Hindus employed at the Hammond Mills have gone and the balance are preparing to depart in the immediate future. It is alleged that the men are returning to India by way of San Francisco, where, it is said, a vessel has been chartered to aid in a revolution which is expected to break out in India as a result of England being occupied in the general European War. It is said a Japanese steamer will carry the Hindus to their native land.”

SEDITIONOUS MEETING

[246] The following apparently quite unprejudiced account of one of the meetings held in connection with this movement is taken from the *Fresno Republican* of 23rd September, 1914:—

“Three hundred and fifty Hindus gathered in a mass meeting at the Iwata Theatre, F. and Kern Street (Fresno, California), yesterday noon, and for six hours listened to speeches by lecturers favouring a revolution in India against England. A

subscription of more than 2,000 dollars was taken up, and will be used in sending literature to Hindus throughout the country urging them to return to their native land and be ready to take up arms against England should the revolution materialise. As a direct result of the mass meeting yesterday many Hindus will leave San Francisco, Saturday, on the *Manchuria* for India.

“Three speakers from San Francisco—leaders of the revolutionists—reached Fresno yesterday for the purpose of presiding at the meeting. Mr. Ram Chandra, the principal speaker, was chairman of the meeting yesterday, and in a long address explained to the assembled Hindus that now was the opportune time for an uprising against England, because of the war that their oppressor was now engaged in. The speaker pointed out that but one-tenth of the money earned by the English in India was expended in the country, that the natives were kept down and that a revolution meant freedom.

“Bhagwan Singh and Barkatullah Singh (*sic*), the other two speakers, spoke along the same lines. They urged that the Hindus return to their native land and spread the news among their brothers and friends that now was the time for a revolution. The speakers declared that India had received assurances from Germany that if they would revolt against England help would be received from the Germans.

“It was explained by the speakers that Hindu lecturers were now touring their native country and at big meetings explaining the situation. The speakers declared that a revolution against England was certain in time, but to strike now would mean victory for India.

[247] “An organisation in San Francisco is now active in spreading the news among the Hindus in California that they are needed in their country to take arms against England. Lecturers are being sent to different sections of the state where Hindus are employed in the fruit, and mass meetings are being held. The money being received from collections at the meetings is being used in sending printed matter to the Hindus. There is also a general fund and it is reported that much of this is being expended in sending Hindus to military schools so that they can return to India and teach their countrymen the art of war.

“It is probable that no more meetings will be held in Fresno. The grape picking is almost finished and the Hindus in a few days will start to move. The next meetings will likely be held in Stockton or Sacramento.”

Similar information was received from other sources, and it was found that Sikhs and other Indians were sailing for India in large numbers not only from the West Coast of Canada and the United States, but from Japan, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Manila, Honolulu and other places. An account of the serious disturbances caused and the crimes committed in the Punjab by these returned immigrants will be found in Chapter XI.

MURDERS IN VANCOUVER

Meantime things were coming to a crisis in British Columbia. The Canadian Immigration Department had received assistance in their enquiries from a small number of loyal Indians, the most prominent of them being Bela Singh who was employed as an interpreter. He was believed by the disloyal party to have been largely responsible for the deportation of Bhagwan Singh (see page 239), and at a meeting held in January, 1914, he, together with Messrs. Reid and Hopkinson of the Immigration Department, was denounced as an enemy of the Hindus and a man whose removal was desirable. Some time later he was severely assaulted and nearly lost a finger. On the 17th of August, 1914, one of the loyal party named Harnam Singh, son of Nihal Singh of Gaihal, Patiala, disappeared, and on 31st August his dead body was found in the bush. His throat had been [248] cut and a razor was lying beside the corpse. The inquest resulted in an open verdict, but Harnam Singh's friends suspected that he had been murdered by Jagat Singh son of Ganesh Singh, of the Lahore District, who got away from Victoria on September 1st on the *Canada Maru*. One of Harnam Singh's friends named Arjan Singh expressed his intention of investigating the case further, and on September 3rd he was shot by Ram Singh, a member of the Sikh Temple Committee of Vancouver. The four eyewitnesses stated that the shot was fired accidentally.

TEMPLE SHOOTING CASE

On 5th September Bela Singh, the interpreter employed by the Immigration Department, attended the cremation of Arjan Singh. About 7-30 in the evening he went to the Sikh Temple and, producing two revolvers, deliberately shot the priest Bhag Singh and fired indiscriminately into the congregation wounding seven others. The priest, Bhag Singh, was well known as a leader of the seditious movement; he is the man who has been already mentioned as the associate of Hussain Rahim and as

one of the party that went over the border to Sumas in the United States to purchase automatic pistols.

VICTORIA BOMB CASE

On the same day that Bhag Singh was shot in Vancouver two detectives in Victoria, B. C., saw two Sikhs named Gurdit Singh and Dalip Singh entering a Chinese store, and noticed that one of them was carrying a suspicious looking object. They followed them and found on the floor an iron pipe 20 inches long and three in diameter with a iron cap on one end, and they discovered that Gurdit Singh had another iron cap in his possession. Four days later they searched Gurdit Singh's house and found twelve revolver cartridges, 8 dynamite caps, 9 feet of fuse, a packet of powder and a small unfilled bomb, besides test-tubes, crucibles and other apparatus. The test-tubes and crucibles were examined by the Government analyst who found in them traces of picric acid and other explosives. As Gurdit Singh was a close friend of Harnam Singh (of Sahri), who was under arrest in connection with the purchase of [249] arms at Sumas, the house of the latter was also searched, and a large quantity of very interesting correspondence was seized, including letters from G. D. Kumar and Taraknath Das, who have been frequently mentioned, and Surendra Mohan Bose.

HARNAM SINGH OF SAHRI

Harnam Singh (of Sahri) was a *sowar* (trooper) of the 4th Cavalry in India before he went to Hong Kong in 1904. After 3 years there as store-keeper in the Electric Tramway Company, he went on to Canada with G. D. Kumar, arriving in Victoria on 31st August, 1907. In 1908 and 1909 he went to school at Seattle, and in 1910 he was living with G. D. Kumar in Vancouver. He did not come prominently to notice until July, 1913, when he was mentioned by G. D. Kumar in a letter to Taraknath Das as the leader of the revolutionary movement in Vancouver.

SURENDRA MOHAN BOSE

Surendra Mohan Bose is the Bengali whose name came up in connection with Japan (see page 220). Arriving in Canada at the end of 1907, he studied at various colleges in the United States, specialising in chemistry, and also toured as a lecturer on Indian subjects. In 1913 he was General Secretary of the Hindustan Association of the United States of America. He

left America at the end of 1913 and reached India in February, 1914, having visited the Indian revolutionaries in Paris and Switzerland on the way. In August of the same year he obtained employment in Rewa State as chemist in the lac factory at Umaria, and when his connection with this bomb case in Victoria came out his house was searched and he was closely questioned. In the end he was placed in confinement by the Maharaja of Rewa.

BOMB MANUAL

Among the letters found in Harnam Singh's house S. K. Bose's correspondence is the most remarkable. It shows that before he left America in 1913 he sent from Chicago to Harnam Singh in Vancouver notes and formulae of his own for making bombs, and that, on arriving in Paris and learning that they had not reached the addressee, he sent him a copy of a Russian bomb manual. [250] In the second letter, sent from Paris in January, 1914, Bose writes: "In this package I am sending you a very valuable copy of the process used by the Russian Revolutionists. It is a very valuable copy so do not lose it. After you are through with it, or have made a copy, send it registered to Dr. C. Chakrabarty, 494, E. 141st Street, New York." The bomb manual was sent to Harnam Singh through the medium of Surendra Nath Kar, a Bengali student in Seattle, and when S. M. Bose's house in Rewa State was searched a postcard in Bengali from S. N. Kar was found which showed that the package despatched from Paris had reached its destination.

PREPARATION OF BOMBS

The letters from Taraknath Das to Harnam Singh found at the same time carry the matter a stage further. They show how the latter, now in possession of the bomb-making formulae, endeavoured to obtain the necessary materials through Taraknath Das, and that Taraknath Das actually procured them. In one letter he talks about "the material for which you wrote to Suren," and in another he writes "I shall have with me the thing you wanted." The correspondence suggests that the priest Bhag Singh was in the plot, and makes it at least certain that Taraknath Das thought he could be safely taken into their confidence. The final stage was the discovery already mentioned in the house of Gurdit Singh, a friend of Harnam Singh, of bombs and bomb-making material some of which Harnam Singh was found

to have bought and paid for. Harnam Singh himself, as explained above, was already under arrest in the United States when his store and house in Vancouver were searched; in addition to this interesting correspondence many copies of the *Ghadr* were found in both places, and in the store was a list of articles required for making bombs, while a measuring glass and ten inches of fuse were discovered in his house.

RESULT OF THE BOMB CASE

On September 24th, 1914, Gurdit Singh and Dalip Singh, the two Sikhs whose arrest in Victoria started the whole case, were sentenced to imprisonment for four years and two years respectively. Gurdit Singh had [251] intended to sail for India on September 8th, and a pillow belonging to him, which he apparently meant to take with him, was produced in Court and cut open. It was found to contain 350 rounds of automatic pistol ammunition and 20 feet of fuse. Harnam Singh who had been the ring-leader, in Canada, of this conspiracy was eventually deported from San Francisco on 26th September, 1914.

MURDER OF MR. HOPKINSON

The next event of importance in Vancouver was the murder of Mr. W. C. Hopkinson, Chief Assistant to the Canadian Inspector of Immigration. On the morning of October 21st, 1914, the case against Bela Singh, who killed the priest Bhag Singh in the Sikh Temple, was down for trial in the assize court before a grand jury, and Mr. Hopkinson, who was a witness for the defence, was standing at the door of the court when he was deliberately shot dead by Mewa Singh; this was the same Mewa Singh who formed one of the party that went to purchase arms at Sumas in the United States in July, 1914. The assassin was instantly seized; at the trial he made no attempt to deny his guilt by pleaded in extenuation that he had killed Mr. Hopkinson in revenge for the profanation of the Sikh Temple by the murder of Bhag Singh, which, he alleged, was instigated by Messrs. Reid and Hopkinson of the Immigration Department. He was sentenced to death and was hanged at Vancouver on the 11th of January, 1915.

BELA SINGH'S CASE

The case against Bela Singh ended in his acquittal; his story in court was that there was a demonstration of hostility against

him in the Temple, that a crowd of men gathered in front of one door as if to prevent his exit, that Bhag Singh after locking the other door made as if to seize the sacred sword and attack him; and that he fired at Bhag Singh and into the crowd in self-defence. The evidence appears to have been conflicting and the Judge's charge to the jury was strongly in favour of an acquittal. The first jury, after four hours' deliberation, failed to come to a unanimous decision, but on a second trial Bela Singh was acquitted. It is probable that the murder of Mr. Hopkinson and the revelation of the risks run by [252] the officers of the Immigration Department had a considerable influence on the minds of the jury.

GERMANY AND THE GHADR

Throughout 1915 Ram Chandra Peshawari and his followers continued to hold meetings and publish the *Ghadr* as usual. Speaking at a meeting at Orwood Island, California, on June 4th, he said that he had made an arrangement with the German Consul by which Indians who wished to fight for their country would be sent to Germany, where they would preach to Indian soldiers against the British Government. At this meeting a sum of 500 dollars was collected for the *Ghadr* campaign.

PRESS PROPAGANDA

The views he endeavoured to impress upon the American public are contained in the following letter which appeared in the *New York Times* of July 21st :—

"THE UNREST IN INDIA"

"The *Hindustan Ghadr* says it was not manufactured abroad."

"To the Editor of the *New York Times*.

May I request you to publish this note in your esteemed paper, which has stood for justice and fair play between contending interests and causes?

I have the honour to represent, as Editor, the Hindu Nationalist organ, the *Hindustan Ghadr*, published weekly in San Francisco. A number of misleading reports have been circulated in this country by the British official news agencies, which have a direct bearing on our work. Newspapers have published here that the powerful and numerous uprisings which have thrown

India into turmoil were 'hatched and plotted' by the staff of our paper, the *Hindusthan Ghadr*.

The object of the British Government in spreading such misinformation is two-fold :—

First, to bring us, if possible, into trouble with the authorities of this country.

Second, to persuade the civilised world to believe that the political unrest in India has been manufactured artificially by the enemies of England, or by a few Hindus who have lived abroad, and is not a natural reaction on the part of the people in India as a whole against the unbearable tyranny of the British Government.

The truth of the matter is quite the reverse. British rule in India is in grave peril. Nobody can deny that. But the British have entirely to thank themselves for it. The revolt in India is as widespread as it is indigenous. It has not been artificially 'hatched by the Germans or the Austrians' or even by the handful of Hindus who have come out of their country in search of a meagre living or of education. As regards the work of the *Hindusthan Ghadr* there has never been any secret. It is published by the Hindu residents of the United States and is an uncompromising advocate of complete political independence and liberty for India.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.,
July 8, 1915.

RAM CHANDRA,
Editor, The Hindusthan Ghadr."

SEDITIONOUS MEETING

Similar views were expressed by him at meetings of Indian residents in America, as appears from the following extract from the *Fresno Weekly Republican* of 23rd September, 1915 :—

"In the neighbourhood of 600 Hindus yesterday gathered at a Hall in F. Street in Chinatown and held a protest meeting against the British rule in India. The meeting started at 9 o'clock in the morning and did not end until 5 o'clock. Ram Chandra, editor of the *Hindusthan Ghadr*, a Hindu paper published in San Francisco, spoke at the meeting yesterday. He left last night for Yuba City, where another meeting is to be held today. The meeting yesterday was of a political nature and was backed by leaders who seek home rule in India and are making some use

of the difficulties under which [254] England is labouring in the war with Germany. The purpose of the meeting was to create interest in a rebellion to secure freedom for the Hindus. It is maintained, however, that the unrest in Hindusthan is not being stirred up by Germany, but it is a spontaneous movement of the people of India, suffering under political and industrial restrictions."

PRESS PROPAGANDA

Ram Chandra also interested himself in supplying the American press with what he called correct news about India, as distinguished from the news which appeared in the telegrams. What is perhaps still more remarkable he found papers to publish his information; the following, which appeared in the *San Francisco Call* in August, 1915, is an interesting specimen of the rubbish he purveyed :—

FIGHTING IN INDIA

"Three thousand British troops have been killed on the North-Western Frontier of India in engagements with the forces of the Amir of Afghanistan, who has attempted to join his strength to the revolting Hindu natives, according to the word received to-day by P. Ram Chandra, editor of the *Hindusthan Ghadr*, published in this city, from Manila by Hindus returning from the affected districts. The pitched battle fought around Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, last month, was a twenty day fight, he said. Three Lahore cantonments mutinied and were joined by the civil population. An effort to collect five years of the land tax in advance, said Chandra, was the main grievance of the civilians gainst the British. The rebels, in a force of nearly 5,000 attacked Lahore and in three days were masters of the city. Reinforcements were rapidly added to the Government's force, which numbered about 8,000. The balance of numbers against them and lack of arms for the civilians counted heavily against the Hindu rebels, who were forced finally to give up the city after seventeen days' fighting. The letter to Chandra describing the Lahore battle carries reports of similar uprisings on a smaller scale. Early this year reports had it that the Amir of Afghanistan was in sympathy with a Hindu revolt.

[255] "The fighting that brought the British loss of soldiers and officers in this territory to 3,000 men has been in the mountains. 'So serious is the situation in and around Lahore,'

said a letter to Chandra, 'that European women there have been warned by the authorities to be prepared to fly for shelter to specified points.' Arrests on suspicion in one district have numbered 4,044 according to the London report."

FURTHER OUTRAGES IN VANCOUVER

The feud between the disaffected Sikhs in Vancouver and the small party of loyal Sikhs led by Bela Singh, the interpreter of the Immigration Department, again took a violent form in March, 1915. On the evening of the 18th, Bela Singh with three companions entered a Hindu store in Granville Street, Vancouver. There they met Jagat Singh, a member of the opposing faction, who attacked them with two revolvers. Of Bela Singh's companions one named Ratan Singh was shot in the head and killed and another named Amar Singh wounded in the foot while Bela Singh himself escaped with a bullet through his coat. Jagat Singh was arrested by two policemen as he was leaving the shop, and afterwards executed for the murder of Ratan Singh. About a month later there was a violent dynamite explosion in the Hindu quarter of Vancouver: one Sikh was killed and two others wounded, and it was believed by the party known as Bela Singh Sikhs that this outrage was directed against them.

DISORGANISATION IN THE "GHADR" PARTY

By the end of 1915 all the more enterprising Sikhs had left America for India, and practically all the real leaders had sought fresh woods and pastures new either in the pay of Germany or in promoting the various schemes of the *Ghadr* party for creating a rising in India from places in the Far East through Siam and Burma. Those who were engaged in the latter movement kept in more or less casual touch with Ram Chandra, but when he was left to himself in San Francisco his influence declined, and in 1916 the quarrels and disagreements usual in all conspiracies which have not an efficient head began to break out. The accounts of the [256] *Yugantar Ashram* were regularly published in the *Ghadr*, but his fellow conspirators began to distrust the accuracy of Ram Chandra's financial statements. In particular they began to suspect, with some reason, that there was a good deal of money coming in from German sources which he said nothing about. The state of affairs was described in a letter despatched about the middle of 1916 from San Francisco, addressed to Har Dayal at Constantinople, which

did not reach the addressee. The writer, a Mrs. Leonhauser, a German-American sympathiser with the *Ghadr* party who had been an intimate friend of both Har Dayal and Bhai Parmanand stated that since Har Dayal's departure a great deal of discontent had arisen among Indians on the Pacific Coast. Ram Chandra Peshawari was a scoundrel and absolutely unfit to hold the leadership of the *Ghadr* party which Har Dayal had bequeathed to him. The Indians wanted a new leader and many of them had suggested Ajit Singh. In any case Har Dayal must send a man from abroad as there was no one in America fit for the position. Nand Singh had become a religious fanatic, Gobind Bihari Lal and many other aspirants to leadership could not be trusted, and a change was absolutely necessary.

THE KHALSA DIWAN OF STOCKTON

One of the chief centres of opposition to Ram Chandra had always been the Khalsa Diwan (Sikh Assembly) of Stockton, California, the most important Sikh body in the West of the United States. Stockton owes its importance as a Sikh centre to its position with respect to the Sacramento River Valley where so many of them were employed; even at the middle of 1916, after the great Sikh Exodus to India, there were some 600 Indians in and around Stockton where their principal resorts were the Khalsa Brothers Trading Company Store at 329, S. Centre Street, the Gem Saloon (many of them are hard drinkers) and the Sikh Temple outside the city limits and some two miles from the centre of the town. At this period there were many followers of the *Ghadr* in Stockton and the paper itself was obtainable at the temple and at the Khalsa Stores. The quarrel with Ram Chandra arose out of questions relating to the finance [257] and control of the *Ghadr* movement. When Har Dayal started the *Ghadr* he collected a good deal of money from Stockton, and the leaders of the Khalsa Diwan saw in the first place that funds were diverted to San Francisco which would have otherwise been devoted to the local Temple, and also that they were called upon to contribute largely to a movement in the control of which they had no share.

INTRIGUE AGAINST RAM CHANDRA

The discontent broke out in an active form from time to time, and by 1916 it was accentuated by the suspicion that Ram Chandra was embezzling the funds entrusted to him and by the

certainty that his *Ghadr* scheme had been a failure; he was accused of having sent many Sikhs to India without taking adequate measures to secure their safety so that many of them suffered punishment and no result was achieved. At a *Ghadr* meeting held at Stockton on 13th August, 1916, Ram Chandra attempted to clear his character, but the proceedings were interrupted by the Khalsa Diwan party and he was not very successful. He and about 100 of his followers left the meeting without collecting any subscriptions, and some 50 members of the opposite faction remained behind and delivered speeches against him.

ORTHODOX SIKHS AND THE "GHADR"

At the beginning of 1917 the *Khalsa Diwans* of Stockton and Vancouver arranged to combine in defence of Sikh Orthodoxy and in opposition to the *Ghadr* party. There was apparently no question of loyalty involved, but in addition to the points of difference already mentioned they introduced religious considerations, objecting to the strong Hindu and especially *Arya Samaj* element in the *Ghadr* party, and condemning the Sikh members of that body as unorthodox because they cut their hair and wore hats instead of turbans.

RAM CHANDRA AND BHAGWAN SINGH

Within the *Ghadr* party itself the lead in the opposition to Ram Chandra was now taken by Bhagwan Singh. After the failure of the plot in the Far [258] East (see Chapter X), this man returned to America, and in July, 1916, he went to Panama under the name of Mr. B. Pritham. With the exception of a visit to Cuba in August he remained there till October, organising sedition in the Indian Colony, which numbered about 500, and collecting subscriptions for revolutionary work. Most of this money, however, he spent in riotous living and he caused some scandal by driving about the town in a motor car with two ladies of doubtful character. He was arrested, at the end of September, 1916, on suspicion of being a Turk, and was given 14 days to establish his identity or leave the country. He chose the latter alternative and proceeded *via* New York to San Francisco. When his quarrel with Ram Chandra came to a head at the beginning of 1917 the latter had the support of nearly all the Hindus and Mahomedans. Bhagwan Singh, who was entirely dependent on the Sikhs, maintained a vigorous campaign from

the outset, but in Washington and Oregon he and his agents met with little success. The Sikhs in these states had become so puzzled and disgusted by the cross charges of speculation and treachery that their zeal for the *Ghadr* cause had greatly diminished. In California, however, he was more successful, and at a meeting held at Stockton on the 4th of March over 1,000 dollars were subscribed. By the middle of March both parties had become greatly alarmed by anti-Indian articles in the American press, arising out of the disclosure of the part played by Indians in German plots, and devoted their meetings less to mutual recrimination and more to placating the American Government. At the meeting held at Stockton on March 18th, which was attended at different times by both Ram Chandra and Bhagwan Singh, a resolution was passed affirming the loyalty of the Indians to the United States Government and placing their services and property at its disposal. In the meantime Ram Chandra had set up a new press at 1017, Valencia Street, and published the first number of his new *Ghadr* on 7th February, 1917, while Bhagwan Singh, who had obtained possession of the old *Ghadr* premises at 1324, Valencia Street, began to issue his paper under the same title on 20th February. When he was forming the new party Bhagwan Singh telegraphed to [259] Lajpat Rai to come and take charge of the whole revolutionary movement, but the latter declined saying that he had had no connection with Bhagwan Singh in the past and did not wish to have any now, as their methods of work differed.

ARREST OF CONSPIRATORS

The entry of the United States into the war gave the death-blow to the conspiracy, and the arrests which were made, some of them before war was declared, indicated that the local authorities, though they had followed the policy of non-interference, had a very good idea of what was going on. In New York Chandra Kanta Chakravarti and his close friend and colleague, a German named Ernst Mathias Sekunna, were arrested on the 6th of March, 1917, and Heramba Lal Gupta (see page 274), whom Chakravarti had superseded as the chief Indian agent of Germany in the United States, four days later. Chakravarti and Sekunna were rolling in German money and had purchased and furnished in luxurious oriental style a house in W. 120th Street at the cost of 20,000 dollars. When the police appeared on the scene Chakravarti was lightly clad in his native costume and

was performing an Indian dance for the delectation of his German confrère who was reclining on an Eastern divan. Shortly before his arrest Chakravarti had rented a second house, on the suggestion of Lajpat Rai and Swami Bodhananda of the Vedanta Society who knew that he had ample German funds. Their claim to be given rooms rent free in these premises for themselves and their societies led to a quarrel between Lajpat Rai and Chakravarti, in consequence of which the latter declined to let any Indians stay in the new house and told Sekunna that none of the Indians in New York could be trusted. Apparently, therefore, there was some truth in Chakravarti's defence that in the restrained language of an American journalist, "they simply were using the German Government for easy money." The same sort of thing had been going on in San Francisco. At a meeting of the *Ghadr* party held there on 6th January, 1917, to discuss Harish Chandra's report on Ram Chandra's accounts, the latter admitted that the money received from Germany had not been applied to the objects for which it was given, and that [260] false accounts and reports had been sent to Germany; he excused himself on the interesting and remarkable ground that the Indian advisers of the German in Berlin were Bengalis.

GERMANY AND TURKEY

INDIAN REVOLUTIONARIES AND A EUROPEAN WAR

For many years Indian revolutionaries have held the view, copied perhaps from their Irish supporters in New York, that England's difficulty would be India's opportunity, and as far back as 1910 Madame Cama is found describing Berlin as "the capital of the country which is at present most hostile in spirit to England" (see page 114). In 1912 Barakatullah (see page 132) discussing in his paper what he called the "Christian Combination against Islam," made the following interesting if somewhat ungrammatical remarks:—

"There is really one man who holds the peace of the world as well as the war in the hollow of his hand, and that man is Emperor William of Germany. Russia, England, France and Italy moved heavens and earth to create rebellion and disturbances within the Ottoman dominions, to egg the Balkan states on to a war against Turkey, to encourage the Cretans to join the Greeks, and to force the passage into the Dardanelles, and finally are trying to call a conference of European Powers—all this to compel Turkey to give up Tripoli. But the Emperor William set all their tricks at naught and maintained the peace of the world and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In case there be a conference of the European Powers, or a European war, it is the duty of the Muslims to be united, to stand by the Khalif, with their life and property, and to side with Germany. Germany's word alone is reliable; while the others blow the trumpet of independence, integrity, civilization and progress, but they at the same time go marching along through bloodshed, desecration of holy places, rapine and plunder."

GEORGE FREEMAN'S FORECAST

The probability of an early war with Germany was mentioned by George Freeman of New York (see page 221) in a letter to Madame Cama dated 11th May, 1914, in the course of which he said, "I [262] heard the other day that the German Government with the other members of the Triple Alliance has arrived at a definite decision as to when resistance will be made

to the unqualified aggressions of the Triple Entente, and when that point is reached the Triple Entente will have to back down or war will ensue. My information from Berlin of a little time ago foreshadowed this."

GERMAN INTEREST IN INDIA

There can be little doubt that, in risking war with England, the Germans took account of what they believed to be the situation in India. The importance they attached to this matter is apparent from the references to India in Bernhardt's book "Germany and the Next War," while the tour through India of the Crown Prince, and the subsequent private visit of the affable and polite Lieut. von Schweinitz of the 1st Prussian Foot Guards, who managed to see a good deal of the army at Jhelum, Rawal Pindi, Peshawar and the Khyber, were not perhaps entirely pleasure trips. Public opinion in Germany was not left unprepared; on the 6th of March, 1914, the *Berliner Tageblatt* published an article on "England's Indian Trouble" in which the writer took a gloomy view of the situation, and predicted that the day of reckoning for England would come "far sooner than official negligence dreams of." He seems to have received his information from a nationalist source, for he states that the agricultural population, numbering 240 millions, "groans under a taxation which seeks for an equal in history, for the peasant has to pay three-quarters of his earnings in taxes, and leases which have nothing to do with agriculture." The result of this excessive taxation is poverty, famine and plague. In addition to this social distress, the writer remarks, there exists a real revolutionary propaganda. Secret societies flourish and spread, and are helped from outside. "In California especially there appears to be an organised enterprise for the purpose of providing India with arms and explosives."

GERMANY'S LOST OPPORTUNITY

Though the Germans had evidently devoted some attention to India it appears that their information was not particularly good. The article quoted above shows that they [263] were not ignorant of the existence of a centre at San Francisco, but they missed the great opportunity, which close touch with that centre would have afforded, of helping the thousands of more or less disaffected Sikhs who returned to India from America soon after the outbreak of war. If they had supplied these men well with

money and arms a much more serious situation would have arisen in the Punjab; but before the Germans became alive to the possibilities of this movement most of the Sikhs had returned to India, their attempt to create a general rising had failed, and the more dangerous conspirators had been placed under restraint. At the time of the *Komagata Maru* incident (see page 239), it was suggested that there was German influence behind it; it is true that the ship was chartered through a German, but there is nothing to show that he rendered any active assistance to the scheme. On the contrary Gurdit Singh found considerable difficulty in raising the charter money, which would not have been the case if the Germans had been arranging for the voyage. It is also extremely unlikely that they could have foreseen the subsequent development of that unhappy enterprise.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND

One of the first Indians to take the pay of Germany in connection with the war was a *protégé* of Sir Walter Strickland, a Yorkshire Baronet of doubtful sanity who was born in 1851 and succeeded to the title and the family estates in 1909. He was educated at Harrow, Christ Church, Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge. While at Cambridge he became strongly anti-Christian and wrote violent and even insulting letters to some of his former friends. He left England in 1889 and went to Italy, and since then he has spent almost all his time abroad. His reasons for leaving England are not exactly known, but the following passage from a letter written by him in 1912 explains his reasons for staying away:—"Realising, after my long stay in the East, that the English, and their despotism there, more particularly in India, was nothing but a camorra of infamous, bestial and obscene thieves, murderers, liars and worse, and that the infamous despotism of England was rapidly becoming as meddling and unjust in England as it was in India, I sold all my [264] landed property, not entailed, and have just had all securities placed in deposit with first rate continental banks."

CHEMPAKARAMAN PILLAI

He lived in Italy till 1900, and thereafter travelled for several years as a naturalist in Asia and Australasia, ending up at Ceylon. From there he came over in February, 1907, to Travancore, and on his return to Europe in October, 1908, he took with him a Tamil boy named Chempakaraman Pillai, the son of

one Chinnaswami Pillai, who was in 1912 head-constable number 95 in the Headquarter Office, Travancore. He described the boy as his adopted son and sent him to learn engineering at Zurich. Sir Walter Strickland was in regular correspondence with Krishnavarma, and articles by him were published in the *Indian Sociologist* from time to time. In August, 1909, he sent Krishnavarma a wreath of flowers in honour of Madan Lal Dhingra, the assassin of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, along with a letter expressing satisfaction at the news of the murder, and advising Indians "to beat the English till the blood ran out of their pores."

INTERNATIONAL PRO-INDIA COMMITTEES

With Strickland for an adoptive father it is not surprising that Chempakaraman Pillai became a very advanced nationalist. In June, 1912, a body called the "International pro-India Committee" was formed in Zurich of which Chempakaraman Pillai was described as President, a Dr. Edward Briess, vice-President, and Strickland, Krishnavarma and Karl Bleibtreu assessors. At first the Committee did little harm beyond contributing a few violent anti-British articles to the Swiss and the German Press. In August, 1913, copies of its prospectus in French and German were printed and circulated, and an appeal was made for contributions to a nationalist magazine which the Committee desired to publish. The affairs of the Committee were not, however, conducted with any great energy and in January, 1914, the magazine still hung fire.

INDIAN NATIONAL PARTY OF BERLIN

In September, 1914, Chempakaraman Pillai approached the German Consul in Zurich and gave him an outline of the Indian revolutionary movement; [265] the latter promised to communicate this to his Government and try to obtain permission for him to publish anti-British literature in Germany. The suggestion was apparently well received, as in October it was reported that Pillai had left Zurich for Berlin where he was to work under the German Foreign Office.

It was not until May, 1915, that further information was received which showed that a regular organisation named the "Indian National Party" had been established in Berlin, attached to the German General Staff and with headquarters at 28 Wielandstrasse, Charlottenburg. The four leading members of this body when it was first formed were Chempakaraman Pillai,

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Prabhakar and Dr. Abdul Hafiz. When war broke out Chattopadhyaya was studying at Halle in Germany, and his past career suggests that the Germans probably had no difficulty in persuading him to work for them. Doubtless impressed by his command of language, they made him head of the "Indian National Party," and it was some time before they found out how unreliable he was. The other two persons named above had not come into prominence before. Dr. Moreshwar Govindrao Prabhakar, B.Sc., Ph.D., belongs to a respectable family in Bombay and is a Prabhu by caste; he had been in Germany for some years and was Assistant Professor of Chemistry at Cologne University. Dr. Abdul Hafiz, M.Sc., Ph.D., is the son of a pleader of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab: he obtained the M.Sc. degree at the University of Birmingham and the degree of Ph.D. at Leipzig. Shortly after this he went to America and was in Chicago in April, 1914. He returned to Germany after the outbreak of the war.

LATER RECRUITS

Amongst other prominent Indian revolutionaries who afterwards found their way to Berlin were Har Dayal (see page 237), Taraknath Das (see page 119), Mahomed Barakatullah (see page 132), Chandra Kanta Chakravarti, Bhupendra Nath Dutt, M. P. Tirumal Acharya, Heramba Lal Gupta and Jodh Singh Mahajan. Chandra Kanta Chakravarti was born in 1882 and belongs to the Bakarganj district of Bengal. In the course of enquiries into the [266] Maniktolla conspiracy (see page 136), information was received showing that he was connected with the gang and knew how to make bombs, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Evading capture he sailed in January, 1909, from Bombay and early in February he was seen in Paris with members of the Indian revolutionary party. After a short stay here, and an equally short visit to the "India House" group in London, he went on to New York where he arrived on the 18th of March, 1909. Both he and Bhupendra Nath Dutt, who had arrived in New York some months before (see page 218), were noticed at one or two meetings of Indians there; but except for Chandra Kanta's connection with the Victoria bomb case (see page 250), neither of them engaged in any serious conspiracy, so far as is known, till the outbreak of war gave them their opportunity. M. P. Tirumal Acharya is a Brahmin of Madras, born about 1887. Before he left Madras, although a mere youth, he

was prominent in seditious circles, and was printer and publisher of a notorious paper called the *India* which advocated revolution in British India from the French territory of Pondicherry. He left this country in November, 1908, and went to London where he lived at the "India House". After a visit to Tangier he went to Paris in 1909, and then to Berlin (1910) and Munich (1911). From Munich he was sent to Constantinople as an emissary of Ajit Singh, and in 1912 he was in New York where he lived at the same address as Chandra Kanta Chakravarti. Throughout all these journeys he was in constant touch with the most prominent revolutionaries. Heramba Lal Gupta is a Bengali of Calcutta who, like Dutt and Chakravarti, had been living quietly in America for some years and came out in his true colours on the outbreak of the war. He was well received in Berlin and was sent back to America as one of the chief agents of the Germans in their Indian schemes.

JODH SINGH MAHAJAN

Jodh Singh Mahajan, who belongs to the Rawal Pindi district of the Punjab, had a curious career. In 1907 he was working as a labourer in Portland (Oregon) and while there he endeavoured to get into an arms factory; failing to do so he left for Europe. From 1908 to 1910 he was employed as a mechanic in Berlin, and here also he [267] was unsuccessful in various attempts to acquire a knowledge of the manufacture of arms. He was in touch with the revolutionaries in London and Paris, and when he went to Brazil in 1910 he was apparently on a mission from them, as he sent from Rio de Janeiro to Madame Cama a report on the suitability of that country as a place to found an independent Indian settlement. This was for a long time a favourite scheme of the Paris group, but Jodh Singh's report was unfavourable and the proposal was dropped. Like other Indian revolutionaries Jodh Singh had evolved various plans for a rising in India, but unlike most of the leaders he had tried to do something practical, and consequently he was respected by them as being by comparison a man of action. Early in 1915 he went to Berlin on instructions received through Ajit Singh.

AJIT SINGH

In Chapter XI an account is given of Ajit Singh's previous activities in the Punjab, and of his absconding to Persia in 1909 (see page 352). In 1911 he proceeded to Europe, and after a

short visit to the Paris group he went on to Lausanne where he tried to maintain himself as a teacher of Oriental Languages; here he posed as a Persian, and adopted the Persian *alias* of Mirza Hassan Khan. At the end of 1913 he went to Paris and earned a precarious living as a teacher of English. He was on friendly terms with Madame Cama and Krishnavarma, but as he was unwilling to take any risks for the revolutionary cause he received little help from them. Early in 1914 the revolutionaries on the Pacific Coast were anxious that he should join them, and even remitted money to him for the purpose through Madame Cama, but he did not at the time apply it to the object for which it was intended. At the beginning of September, 1914, he left Paris very hurriedly, without even informing his landlady—which is considered a low trick by agents of the secret service in any country—and on September 25th he was at Dakar in Senegal. In November he reached Rio de Janeiro, and here perhaps the object of his rather mysterious wanderings is explained; he met Jodh Singh Mahajan, told him that he was wanted for important work at Berlin, and introduced him to the German Consul who gave him £60 for his [268] journey. Ajit Singh also gave Jodh Singh his Persian passport in the name of Hassan Khan, and in this name the latter left Rio on the 23rd of February, 1915, for Genoa. Here the German Consul gave him a new passport in which he was described as a German subject from East Africa, and in this character he proceeded to Berlin. He reported his arrival at 42 Leibnitz Strasse, where he met Har Dayal and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, and here his connection with the German plot begins.

KUNWAR MAHENDRA PRATAP

All those who have been named above were already in Germany or in America when the war began; from India itself only two of any importance went to join the enemy, Kunwar Mahendra Pratap Singh, and Harish Chandra. The former is a man of good family, brother of Raja Dat Prasad Singh Bahadur of Mursan in the United Provinces, and brother-in-law of Raja Ranbir Singh of Jhind in the Punjab, and was already known as an extremist in politics and a rather eccentric character. At the end of 1914 he was granted a passport to travel in Italy, Switzerland and France, and possibly also in Japan and America, "for the purpose of studying the troubled state of countries in time of war and also for the benefit of his health." He asked

to have the name of Harish Chandra entered as his secretary, but this was refused. The latter is the son of Munshi Ram, founder of a National School called the *Gurukul* at Kangri near Hardwar, the object of which is to educate the youth of India on purely Hindu as opposed to European lines. Munshi Ram was a prominent member of the Arya Samaj, a religion which is strongly anti-Christian in its theology and therefore tends to be anti-Government in its politics, and for some time the *Gurukul* was looked upon with suspicion as a centre of sedition. It was never proved that any seditious plots were hatched there, but a youth brought up like Harish Chandra in these surroundings was not likely to err on the side of loyalty to Government. Mahendra Pratap left Bombay for Europe on 12th December, 1914, and Harish Chandra a week later. From Marseilles Mahendra Pratap went straight to Geneva and saw Har Dayal who introduced him to the German Consul; he pretended to be a powerful ruling chief, and refused to [269] go to Berlin unless he was promised an interview with the Kaiser. Har Dayal was sent to Berlin to see about his reception, and a week later he wired to say that the interview had been arranged. Mahendra Pratap then proceeded to Berlin and not long after he was sent off on a mission to Kabul. Before leaving he despatched to certain influential friends in the United Provinces messages urging them to join Germany, but the messages were never delivered.

HARISH CHANDRA

Harish Chandra had also reached Berlin and his talents were employed in another direction; he was sent off to America in June, 1915, and visited New York and San Francisco. He is believed to have been the bearer of instructions and advice to the *Ghadr* party and he returned to Europe in October of the same year. In 1916 he was back again in San Francisco taking a rather prominent part in the intrigue against Ram Chandra, and in December, 1916, he went to New York and obtained orders from Chandra Kanta Chakravarti, now an important agent of Germany, to inspect Ram Chandra's accounts in the name of the "Indian National Committee." Armed with these credentials he returned to San Francisco where he was received by the *Ghadr* party with the deference to an emissary of the German agent.

ARRESTS IN ENGLAND

Soon after the Indian National Party in Berlin was constituted Virendranath Chattopadhyaya attempted to get into touch with some of the remaining members of the old "India House" group in London. He was found to be in communication with a woman named Meta Brunner, who was staying at Eastbourne, and she was arrested on the 15th July, 1915, and interned. She admitted that she has met Chattopadhyaya at Zurich in the previous January, and had come to England at his request to see certain friends of his including Vishnu Prasad Dubé and Rewa Prasad Misra. This fitted in with information received five years before from Paris, that among those left behind in England whom Chattopadhyaya was most disposed to trust was V. P. Dubé. Dubé and Misra were accordingly arrested and interned for the period of the [270] war, along with a German woman named, Anna Brandt who passed as Dubé's wife; a few days after Sitaram Dubé, who was closely connected with V. P. Dubé, was also arrested and interned. Misra and two Dubés are all three Hindus belonging to Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces. They went to England together in 1909, and came to notice from time to time as members of the "India House" party. In September, 1915, an English woman named Miss Hilda Howsin, who was known some years before to be a friend of Chattopadhyaya, was also arrested. She admitted that in the previous May she had gone to Switzerland at the request of Meta Brunner to see Chattopadhyaya, and that he had asked her to send Misra, V. P. Dubé and Anna Brandt to Switzerland as he wished to employ them in his work. Another Indian student named Sagar Chand was also interned about the same time, but he was in communication with Ram Chandra Peshawari in San Francisco, and not directly with Germany. He is a native of Lahore, and is related by marriage to Lala Lajpat Rai (see page 23).

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS BY GERMANY

Apart from the schemes aimed directly against India the Germans employed their Indian adherents in a variety of ways, of which the most important were :—

- (a) The production of anti-British literature.
- (b) Attempts to commit assassinations in England and allied countries, especially Italy.

(c) An attempt to endanger the lines of communication through the Suez Canal.

(a) The Germans devoted much attention to literary propaganda affecting India and the Far East, and by the middle of 1916 a list had been prepared of 82 papers and pamphlets of this kind published by German agency or by societies subsidised by Germany. In these publications the following languages were used :—English, French, German, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Malay, Tartar and Chinese, besides four or five Indian vernaculars. [271]

(b) On the 20th March, 1915, Gobind Behari Lal, the fellow-townsmen and friend of Har Dayal, left New York for Liverpool. During his visit, which was a very short one, he was closely watched and was not allowed to approach Indian soldiers. He left England to return to America on 28th April, 1915, and it was afterwards ascertained that his journey was in connection with a plot to murder Lord Kitchener. It was not proved definitely that this had a German origin, but he is known to have been in touch with the "Indian National Party" in Berlin, as he was able to tell his Indian friends that if they wanted to help Germany they should go to the German Consul at Geneva and ask for Mr. Virendra Chattopadhyaya. He failed in his mission because none of the Indians whom he met in England was willing to play the rôle of assassin.

In 1915 Abdul Hafiz (see page 265) was engaged by the Germans in a conspiracy to assassinate certain Italian statesmen. He is known to have returned on the 22nd of July to Zurich from a visit to Berlin, during which he arranged that ten bombs with time-fuses should be sent to the German Consul at Zurich to make over to an Egyptian student named Ali Eloui. An Italian, anarchist named Bertoni was also in the plot which miscarried as it was not kept sufficiently secret.

(c) In March, 1915, the German Foreign Office arranged for the despatch of a mission to the Suez Canal region for the purpose of distributing seditious leaflets among Indian soldiers there. The mission included Taraknath Das and M. P. Tirumal Acharya and it is known to have reached Constantinople, but it is doubtful whether it got further. Taraknath Das was still in Constantinople at the end of 1915, helping in the pro-German press propaganda there, but by March, 1916, he was back in Zurich, and he was afterwards sent to America where, being a

Hindu, he was more at home than in the Mahomedan atmosphere of Turkey.

GERMAN SCHEMES

The details of the various German schemes are somewhat complicated as they depended on the co-operation (a) of the *Ghadr* party centred in San Francisco, (b) of the [272] European Group of Indian revolutionaries and (c) of the disaffected elements believed by them to exist in India. As mentioned elsewhere the first *Ghadr* scheme, namely, that the Sikhs in America should return to India and raise an insurrection in the Punjab, owed nothing to the Germans in its inception and very little, if anything at all, in its execution; in the later schemes, however, the *Ghadr* party and the Germans worked together. The various forms which the German plans took were naturally conditioned by the geographical situation of India; in this light they can be sub-divided into attempts by sea and by land, the former from the nearest sea base, the Dutch East Indies, and the latter from the neutral countries marching with India, Siam on the East and Persia and Afghanistan on the North-West. These are, in short, the only practicable routes into India, and all three were tried. Equally naturally religious and political conditions were taken into account; the attempt from the East largely relied on Hindu disaffection, and that from the North-West on Moslem fanaticism. It is believed that the German Consul in Shanghai was in general charge of the operations in the Far East, and it will presently appear that the active agencies were at Bangkok (Siam) and Batavia (Java).

THE S. S. "MAVERICK"

The attempt made by sea, though failures, were not without interest. The most remarkable was the voyage of the S. S. *Maverick*, which was intended to bring arms from the West Coast of Mexico to Java to be afterwards conveyed to India. The *Maverick*, an oil tank steamer belonging to the German firm of F. Jebsen & Co. of San Francisco, sailed from San Pedro, near Los Angeles, California, about the 22nd of April, 1915. She had no cargo, and the personnel on board consisted of 25 officers and crew, a passenger named B. Miller who said he was a Swedish engineer but appeared to be a German, and five natives of India who called themselves Persians and were signed on as waiters. The *Maverick* went first to San Jose del Cabo, at the

most southerly point of Lower California, where the German or Swedish passenger left the ship saying he was going to La Paz, and here a fresh clearance was obtained in very general terms for Anjer in Java *viâ* [273] the Pacific Islands. The ship then sailed for Socorro, a lonely island off the coast of Mexico, where she was to meet a schooner called the *Annie Larsen*. The schooner was to bring the cargo of arms from Acapulco in Mexico and these were to be transhipped to the *Maverick*; the rifles were to be stowed away in one of the oil tanks and flooded with oil, and the ammunition was to be stowed in another tank and flooded only in case of emergency. From four castaways who happened to be on the island the captain of the *Maverick* learned that the *Annie Larsen* had been there, and being short of water and supplies had returned to the coast of Mexico, and he received a note to the same effect, left for him by the supercargo of the *Annie Larsen*, asking him to await her return.

While the *Maverick* was at Socorro the island was visited, by H.M.S. *Kent* and H.M.S. *Rainbow*, both of which sent search parties on board, and when the *Kent* first appeared on the scene, the leader of the five "Persians," who called himself Jehangir, but was really a Sikh named Hari Singh, had a large quantity of papers and pamphlets, the contents of two sacks and four suit cases, burnt in the engine-room.

The schooner *Annie Larsen* did not appear, and after waiting 29 days the captain of the *Maverick* decided to proceed for further orders to San Diego, California; on the way he called at Clarion Island and Guadaloupe Island, keeping a look-out for the schooner of which no traces were seen. At San Diego he received instructions from his German owners to go to Hilo, in Hawaii, where he would receive further orders. Here he arrived about the 14th of June, and received from the captain of a German ship orders to proceed to Johnston Island, a remote spot South-West of Hawaii, and there await the *Annie Larsen*. The conspirators failed to reckon with the enterprise of the local press, and some of the ship's company talked too much, with the result that they saw the whole programme published in a war telegram slip. It appears that at this point the original plan was abandoned, and after a stay of a fortnight the *Maverick* was ordered to proceed on her voyage to Anjer, Java, calling at Johnston Island as arranged, but without any [274] expectation of meeting the *Annie Larsen*. From Anjer she was to go to Batavia and report herself to the German firm of Behn Meyers

& Co., said to be the agents of the owners. On her arrival at Java on the 20th of July, 1915, she was taken charge of by the Dutch naval authorities and escorted by destroyers into the harbour of Batavia where she was searched and found to be empty.

THE "HENRY S."

Another very suspicious ship was the *Henry S.*, a schooner with auxiliary screw, which cleared from Manila for Pontianak, on the West Coast of Borneo, about the 14th of July, 1915, with two German-Americans named Wehde and Boehm on board. The papers of the *Henry S.* were originally made out for Shanghai, and she had a consignment of arms and ammunition on board, but these were discovered by the Customs authorities and had to be taken off before she was allowed to leave Manila. Her destination was then changed to Pontianak, but instead of taking the most direct course to that place she proceeded by the Sea of Celebes, and after wandering about there is an apparently aimless way put in at Palaleh, on the island of Celebes, with her motor broken down.

ARREST OF BOEHM

On the 27th of September one of the German-Americans, George Paul Boehm, was arrested at Singapore while on his way from Batavia to Shanghai. He gave conflicting and inaccurate accounts of himself and the voyage of the *Henry S.*, but the principal facts are that in March, 1915, he was introduced in Chicago, where he lived, to Heramba Lal Gupta (see page 266) who told him that India was in a state of revolt and that a cargo of arms and ammunition had already left Mexico for some place in India, and asked him if he was prepared to take up the training of Indians in Burma. At a subsequent meeting he agreed for 1,500 dollars (gold) to proceed to Bangkok, in Siam, and travel up to the Burmese frontier where the training was to be undertaken. A few days later he met Jodh Singh Mahajan (see page 266) as well as Albert Wehde, an engraver of Chicago, and Sterneck, a Dutch American, both of whom spoke German fluently. Some three weeks [275] after this he received his 1,500 dollars at the German Consulate, and set off with Wehde and Sterneck for the Far East, *via* San Francisco; Jodh Singh also left about the same time, but by a different ship. When he got to Manila in June, 1915, Boehm called on the German Consul

and found to his surprise, that the latter knew nothing about him. It appears that a letter which the consul ought to have received had gone astray, but eventually he ordered Boehm to sail on the *Henry S.*, which was chartered by Wehde, and see that the cargo which included 5,000 revolvers was all right, instructing him to land 500 revolvers at Bangkok and take the rest on to Chittagong. When it was found that the boxes of revolvers had to be abandoned Boehm states that he received fresh orders to go himself to Chittagong, find out the situation in that neighbourhood and bring back the news to Shanghai. This sounds inherently improbable and does not explain the course afterwards taken by the *Henry S.*, but there seems to have been something in the original plan to land revolvers on the coast of Bengal. The scheme failed in its execution because it was badly co-ordinated and messages went astray; but it was also bad *ab initio* as it was based on incorrect intelligence regarding the position in India supplied to the Germans by their Bengali agents.

CONNECTION BETWEEN BATAVIA AND CALCUTTA

The manager of the Behn Meyers Company, the firm in Batavia to which the captain of the *Maverick* was directed to apply for orders, proved to be a certain Theodor Helfferich, who with his brother Emil was hand in glove with the German Consul and turned out to be the head of this centre of the German plot; it now remains to examine the connection between Batavia and India. Investigation of this important line of enquiry led to the discovery that telegrams of a suspicious character had been passing between Batavia and Calcutta, the address which came up most frequently being that of a firm called Harry & Sons of 41, Clive Street, and this clue when followed up led right into the heart of what was already known to be the most dangerous revolutionary gang in Bengal. Harry & Sons proved to be the address of Hari Kumar Chakravarti, a well-known [276] revolutionary; the premises were searched on August, 7th, 1915, and he and two assistants, his brother Makhan Lal Chakravarti and a suspected revolutionary Shyam Sundar Bose, were arrested. A second address used in communicating with Batavia was the *Sramajibi Samabaya* (Co-operative Labour Association), of 90/2, Harrison Road, Calcutta, and though the most important person connected with it, Amarendra Chatterji, managed to get away, Ram Chandra Mazumdar, his friend and associate and

Sudhansu Bhusan Mukherji, a director of the *Sramajibi Samabaya*, were arrested. A further important capture was that of Bejoy Kumar Roy of 159, Bow Bazar Street, who had received a suspicious telegram from Bangkok. Besides Amarendra Chatterji, Jadu Gopal Mukherji of 62, Beniatola Street, succeeded in absconding before it was known how deeply he was implicated, as well as two others of whom more will be heard, Benoy Bhusan Dutt and Bholanath Chatterji. The former, it was afterwards discovered, went off to Bombay and despatched on August, 12th, the following warning telegram to the Java conspirators :—"Market low postpone transaction until information. C. Martin."

JOTIN MUKHERJI

One of the leading members of the gang with which these persons were more or less connected was a notoriously desperate character named Jotindra Nath Mukherji, then about 29 years of age, belonging to Kushtea in the Nadia District of Bengal. The importance of what may be called Jotin's gang was that they had carried out in August, 1914, the very successful *coup* which placed them in possession of 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition belonging to Messrs. Rodda & Co., of Calcutta, and that in most of the subsequent political outrages in Bengal these Mauser pistols were used. Jotin Mukherji himself was once a shorthand clerk in the office of the Financial Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and had come to notice as a dangerous character long before these enquiries into the German plot were set on foot. Birendra Nath Dutt Gupta, the young Bengali who murdered Deputy Superintendent Shamsul Alam in the High Court of Calcutta on 24th January, 1910, afterwards stated that he was instigated by Jotin to commit [277] the crime, and even before that he had been mentioned by a prisoner in the Manik-tolla bomb conspiracy as one of the principal leaders of their movement at his home in Kushtea.

THE CHINGRIPOTA GANG

It was not surprising to find that a gang which had so boldly expropriated a consignment of Mauser pistols, and used them so freely, should be concerned in the German plot to import arms, and this line was followed up. It was established, as the result of a long and interesting investigation, that offers of German

help were brought to the Bengal revolutionaries in March, 1915, by Jitendra Nath Lahiri, a Bengali student of Berkeley, California, who had just spent two months in Germany, and that they were invited to send an agent to Batavia to co-operate. The agent chosen was Norendra Nath Bhattacharji, a Bengali Brahmin of Chingripota in the 24-Parganas District of Bengal; this village was already celebrated as the scene of the first political dacoity in Bengal, committed on 6th December, 1907, by a band of young Bengalis who assaulted the station-master and robbed his safe of over six hundred rupees. Norendra Nath Bhattacharji, then a youth of 19, was suspected at the time of having a hand in this, and he was afterwards named by an informer as a member of a revolutionary society and prosecuted in the Howrah gang case but acquitted. The manager of Harry and Sons and his brother, whose arrests are mentioned above, also came from the village of Chingripota, as well as his assistant Shyam Sundar Bose and his brother Saileswar Bose whose part in the plot will presently appear.

REMITTANCES FROM BATAVIA TO CALCUTTA

Norendra Nath Bhattacharji left India in April, 1915, and proceeded to Batavia; here he met the two Helfferichs and the German Consul, and arranged, amongst other things, for money to be sent to India. He adopted the name of C. A. Martin, and cabled in this name of Harry and Sons of Calcutta, giving the Batavia party this and one or two other addresses to use in subsequent communications. The remittances sent from Batavia were afterwards traced, and out of Rs. 43,000 [278] which are known to have been sent to Calcutta the local revolutionaries drew out Rs. 33,000; the remaining Rs. 10,000 were stopped in the bank. Noren Bhattacharji, *alias* Martin, returned to India in June, arriving probably at Negapatam on the 14th; next day he was in Madras, and there he attempted to cash the first Batavia remittance which he had brought with him, a bank draft in favour of C. A. Martin or bearer. As the bank to which he applied had not received the necessary advices from Batavia payment was refused; the draft was afterwards cashed in Calcutta by Amarendra Chatterji of the *Saramajibi Samabaya* who is mentioned above. The remittances of German money from Java were arranged by Abdus Salam, a Kashmiri Mahomedan residing in Batavia, who forwarded them through a firm of Sindi mer-

chants trading widely in the Far East named Chotirmull and Co. Abdus Salam was in the plot, and as he was found to be disseminating seditious literature he was afterwards interned by the Government of the Dutch East Indies; the Sindi firm apparently made the remittances in the ordinary course of business, and there was nothing to show that it was in any way implicated.

ENQUIRIES AT BALASORE

Martin was evidently anxious to get away from Madras, and on the same day he sent the following telegram to Jadu Gopal Mukherji in Calcutta:— "Arrived here starting to-night for Balasore expect to meet someone there". The discovery, some weeks later, that this telegram had been sent led to enquiries at Balasore, and it was found that Saileswar Bose, brother of Shyam Sundar Bose of Harry and Sons, had set up here in April, 1915, a business called the "Universal Emporium" which ostensibly consisted of the repair of bicycles and the sale of gramophones and records. Saileswar Bose was not able to explain some of the papers which were found in his shop, nor to disclose the source of the capital which enabled him to start this concern, and it was found by enquiries elsewhere that C. A. Martin had been to Balasore and stayed a night in the dāk-bungalow (travellers' rest-house) and that he had been taken away from there by Saileswar Bose on the 17th of June and had not re-appeared.

[279] TRACING THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Saileswar's rather mysterious doings in Balasore had attracted attention, and it had been noticed that he visited a remote village in Mayurbhanj State called Kabtipada, some 22 miles west of Balasore and right away in the jungle. This was a curious place for a Bengali of his class to go to without any apparent object, and accordingly on 6th September, 1915, the District Magistrate of Balasore, accompanied by several police officers engaged in the enquiry, went to Kabtipada and learned that several Bengalis were living in a house in the jungle about a mile and a half away. Next morning, after the necessary sanction had been obtained from the Sub-Divisional Officer of Udala, they searched this house and found that the Bengalis had gone. They had, however, left behind some interesting documents, among which were a map of the Sundarbans and a cutting from a Penang paper about the *Maverick*, and it was clear that they had firearms

in their possession as a tree in the compound showed marks of bullets.

FIGHT WITH THE POLICE

Arrangements were made to watch the roads and prevent the Bengalis from escaping, and on the 9th of September the Magistrate of Balasore received information that they had been located and had shot one villager dead and wounded another. The Magistrate with a Sergeant of the Proof Department and a party of armed police went to the spot in motor cars and found that the Bengalis had taken refuge in a small island of jungle in the middle of a rice field. As they approached in extended order the Bengalis opened fire with Mauser pistols, fortunately without effect. Their fire was returned, and after some 20 minutes two Bengalis came out of the bushes and held up their hands in token of surrender. The police party then advanced across the mud and water and found that the gang consisted of five Bengalis of whom one was dead and two were seriously wounded. The dead man proved to be Jotindra Nath Mukherji, the important leader who has been already mentioned; one of the wounded men, who died shortly afterwards, was Chitta Priya Roy Chaudhuri of Madaripur who was known to have assassinated Sub-Inspector Suresh Chandra Mukherji of the Calcutta [280] C.I.D. in Cornwallis Square on the 28th of February, 1915.

JOTIN'S GANG

There were some curious points about the gang thus run to earth. The question what they were doing there was partly answered by the fact that they had changed their names and adopted the names of the heroes of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel *Ananda Math* (see page 31). Their refuge in the jungle was therefore intended to be the centre of a revolutionary band of *Children of the Mother*. They clearly belonged to the group which armed themselves by the daring robbery in Calcutta, seeing that of the four Mauser pistols found in their possession three were proved by their numbers to belong to the Rodda consignment. The newspaper cutting found in their house indicated some interest in the German scheme, and the map of the Sundarbans area was further evidence in the same direction as it was known from other sources of information that one of the places

where a landing was contemplated, according to the German scheme, was somewhere in that neighbourhood.

KUMOD NATH MUKHERJI

It is necessary now to return to the adventures of Noren Bhattacharji *alias* C. A. Martin whom we last saw leaving the travellers' rest-house at Balasore with Saileswar Bose; there is no evidence that he met Jotin Mukherji on this occasion but there is no doubt that that was the object of his visit to Balasore. He then went on to Calcutta, and here he got into touch with Kumod Nath Mukherji, whose name introduces another branch of the plot and connects the *Ghadr* party with the Germans. Kumod Nath Mukherji was a Bengali who had been living since March, 1912, in Bangkok, Siam, where he practised as a lawyer. Here in April, 1914, he met Bholanath Chatterji, who has been mentioned above, and learned that the latter was mixed up in some revolutionary society in Calcutta. Bholanath returned to Calcutta in October, 1914, and when the German scheme came up he mentioned Kumod Nath Mukherji to the Calcutta group as a sympathiser in Bangkok. Accordingly in June, 1915, he was approached by members of the *Ghadr* party in Bangkok to take [281] money and a message to Calcutta, and on the 18th of June he set out with a sum of 2,200 ticals (about £ 165) supplied by Shiv Dayal Kapur (see page 287). He reached Calcutta on the 3rd of July, 1915, and according to his instructions went to see Dr. Mukherji, of 62, Beniatola Street, at whose house he eventually met Bholanath Chatterji and delivered his message. This Dr. Mukherji proved to be Jadu Gopal Mukherji, the same person to whom C. A. Martin telegraphed on his arrival in Madras from Batavia.

IDENTITY OF C. A. MARTIN

While K. N. Mukherji was in Calcutta he was introduced by Bholanath Chatterji to a "leader" whose name was withheld. This man asked Mukherji to go to Batavia, on his way back to Bangkok, and deliver to a German named Helfferich a message explaining the wants of the Indian party in the way of rifles and trained German help. K. N. Mukherji left India *viâ* Madras on 24th July, 1915, and carried out his mission; his railway ticket from Calcutta was paid for out of a hundred rupee note which was afterwards ascertained to be one of the notes paid to Ama-

rendra Chatterji when he cashed the Batavia draft in favour of C. A. Martin. Kumod Nath Mukherji was a very half-hearted conspirator, and when he was asked to go back to Calcutta with a message and a remittance from Batavia he declined the offer and started off home to Bangkok. Before leaving Batavia, however, he met the "leader" to whom he had been introduced in Calcutta and found that he was known to the local group as C. A. Martin.

C. A. MARTIN'S SECOND JOURNEY

C. A. Martin, then, was evidently in Calcutta in July, 1915, and was actively engaged in the plot which centred round Dr. Jadu Gopal Mukherji and his lieutenant Bholanath Chatterji. When the searches and arrests of August 7th took place the plans of the conspirators were badly upset, and the warning telegram already quoted was sent on August, 12th, from Bombay. It now became necessary to discuss fresh plans with the Germans, and with this object Noren Bhattacharji, *alias* Martin, set out again for Batavia, accompanied by a friend belonging [282] to the same village of Chingripota named Phanindra Nath Chakravarti. Phanindra was an old pupil of Jotin Mukherji; they met at Darjeeling in 1908 and Jotin gave him instruction in physical exercises and lessons on the *Bhagwat Gita* (see page 48). Subsequently in Calcutta he joined a branch of the *Anusilan Samiti* (see page 154) at 49, Cornwallis Street, and in 1913 he became an intimate friend of Noren Bhattacharji *alias* Martin. On the occasion of his first visit to Batavia Martin tried to get Phanindra to accompany him, and even took him to Kabtipada, Jotin Mukherji's retreat near Balasore, to obtain that leader's personal orders without which Phanindra refused to go, but in the end nothing definite was settled and Martin had to go alone. On the second journey Martin and Phanindra started together from Calcutta about the end of August, 1915. They stopped a day at Cuttack, where they changed into European clothes and Phanindra was given by his friend the name of W. A. Payne, and sailed from Madras a few days later. Proceeding by Penang and Deli (Sumatra) they arrived at Batavia, and next day they went to Helfferich's house and met one of the Helfferichs and the German Consul.

THE GERMAN CONSUL'S VIEWS

The latter listened to Martin's message, but he was becoming disillusioned on the subject of Indian conspiracies for he spoke roughly to Martin saying that the scheme he now proposed was an impossible one, that the Indians had no proper organisation and that they let information leak out. Perhaps the German Consul was thinking of the unfortunate *contretemps* at Hilo in Hawaii, when the plans for the *Meverick's* voyage were wrecked by their publication to the world, as well as of the more recent fiasco in Calcutta. He condescended, however, to discuss one or two other schemes for getting arms into India, but dismissed them as impracticable; one hare-brained proposal, said to emanate from a Bengali in Shanghai, to take a consignment overland through Ta-li-fu to Assam he described, probably correctly, as hopeless. The fact was that the Consul in Batavia showed himself to be pretty well disgusted with the whole affair, and an Indian calling himself Mahomed Ali, who turned up about this time in Batavia from New York, further discouraged [283] Martin and his friend Payne by telling them that the German Consul there, whom he had seen, had begun to distrust Indians and their protestations. Martin had three or four meetings with the Germans, but his friends gathered from his conversation that he was making no progress and that the Germans had no men to send and were unwilling to risk a ship; he accordingly abandoned the Batavian scheme, and eventually succeeded in reaching Shanghai.

MARTIN JOINS THE "GHADR" HEADQUARTERS

In June, 1916, he arrived in San Francisco; the local *Daily News*, published in that city on June, 15th, contained the following paragraph :—

"When the *Nippon Maru* touched port to-day from Hongkong it carried a man of mystery. He is Chas A. Martin, who despite his name is a Hindu and a high-caste Brahmin. Martin declared that he boarded the boat at a French-Indian port and that he is *en route* to Paris to study. Passengers, however, declared that he did not board the ship at such a point, and believe him to be either a revolutionary leader or an emissary of the British Government."

The address he gave to the agents of the line by which he travelled was 1901, Baker Street, San Francisco, one of the addresses used by Ram Chandra Peshawari, from which it was

evident that he was going to join the headquarters of the *Ghadr* party. His friend Payne was not so fortunate. He was sent off by Martin, before the latter left Batavia, to Shanghai with a message for the German Consul, but in November, 1915, shortly after his arrival, he was found there in a destitute condition and sent in British custody to Singapore.

ARRESTS IN GOA

Having heard nothing of Martin or Payne for a long time the conspirators in Calcutta made another attempt to re-establish communication with Batavia. Bholanath Chatterji and Henoy Bhusan Dutt, of whom the former has already been noticed as a lieutenant of Dr. Jadu Gopal Mukherji, were sent off quietly for the purpose to Goa; this place was apparently chosen because Portugal, to which Goa belongs, was then neutral. On December [284] 27th, 1915, the following telegram was sent to Batavia from Goa. "How doing no news very anxious. B. Chatterton." This led to enquiries in Goa and the two Bengalis were found and handed over to the British authorities. Chatterji was caught in the act of trying to throw out through the tiles at the back of the house a bundle of papers which included a draft of the telegram and a note of what it cost. The Bengalis had with them letters of introduction to people in Goa from a Goanese medical student in Calcutta named Placido de Braganza Cunha; enquiries failed to establish his complicity in the plot, but it was noted later, as a curious coincidence, that in May, 1916, a brother of his named Francisco de Bragenza Cunha, living in Zurich, was reported to be occupied in translating pro-German literature for circulation in neutral countries. Some time after their arrest Chatterji and Dutt made statements admitting their part in the German plot; the statement of the former was only a brief admission and he promised to give further details, but before doing so, on the night of January 27th, 1916, he committed suicide in the Poona jail where he was confined. In this way the German schemes to attack India by sea came to an end, and as the opinions of two German consuls on the causes of their failure have been already recorded it is perhaps unnecessary to say more on this point here.

THE SIAM SCHEME

The Siam project, undertaken by the Germans and the *Ghadr* party of San Francisco combined, was a better one, and

very full details were obtained regarding it from statements made by conspirators who were caught from time to time, and from documents in their possession. The first of these, and in some ways the most important, was a European employed by the German Secret Service who was arrested in Singapore towards the end of July, 1915, a crafty schemer to whom for various reasons it will be convenient to refer as X. Next in importance, on account of the value of the information he supplied, was a Punjabi arrested early in August in Bangkok and deported to Singapore who will be called Z. This man gave a very full, and making the usual deduction for a tendency to exaggeration, a fairly accurate account of their plans. [285] He boasted of his connection with the German Consul, who was authorised to finance him, and said that his object was to collect a force of ten thousand men by means of which the revolutionaries would establish themselves on the Burmo-Siam frontier, whence they would overrun Burma and finally the whole of India. Z added that a German military officer was coming to train this force, and on his arrival details of the invasion would be settled. Two students from Berkeley, California, emissaries of the *Ghadr* party, were known to have recently arrived in Bangkok, one a Bengali called Sukumar Chatterji, son of a retired contractor of Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces, and the other a Madrassi named Darisi Chenchiah belonging to Nellore. Of these men Z remarked, "Mr. Chenchiah and Mr. Chatterji will do the preliminaries and recommend places and forests where all these operations are to be carried on. In fact they will survey places and submit photos for approval. The German railway officers on the line and their Punjabi overseers and surveyors will give the necessary information." A good deal of this turned out to be correct; most of the engineers on the Siam Northern Railway were Germans, and their subordinates Punjabis, and evidence was afterwards collected which proved that the Indian revolutionaries were not wrong in counting on their co-operation. The German officer who was to do the training afterwards turned up in the person of George Paul Boehm, whose arrest at Singapore on September 27th, 1915, has already been recorded (see page 274). His statement was of considerable value in elucidating several points which had not been made clear, and, like the statement of X, extended to matters connected with the Batavia scheme and not directly with Siam. The Siam schemes and the

Batavia schemes cannot in fact be kept quite apart ; in discussing the latter it has already been seen, for example, that the Bangkok emissary to Calcutta, Kumod Nath Mukherji, was used again as an emissary to Batavia, and that his expenses were paid out of the Batavia remittance. Accordingly it will prevent confusion, before proceeding to describe the operations in Siam, to deal first with one or two points in relation to other schemes which came to light in the Siam enquiry.

[286] PLAN TO TAKE THE ANDAMANS

It appeared from the statement of X that one of the German plans was to take the Andaman Islands before raising a revolt in Burma and India. First of all an agent was to go to the Andamans, in the guise of a merchant, and to land arms supplied from German sources : he was then to get into touch with released prisoners who were working on their own ground, and arrange with them to destroy the wireless station on an appointed night. One or two of some twelve German ships laid up in Sabang, after getting together the fittest of the crews of all the vessels, and taking as many Germans from Deli (Sumatra) as possible, were to leave for the Nicobars; here they would pick up quick-firers, guns and ammunition, which would be previously deposited by pre-concerted arrangement. The ships would then proceed to the Andamans so as to arrive there on the night fixed for the destruction of the wireless station, landings being effected at the same time on both the East and the West side of the islands. After this had been done, and the place had been captured, as many of the convicts as were fit and willing were to be shipped, under German leadership, to a place near Rangoon. If the undertaking seemed to promise success, all Germans of military age in the Dutch East Indies and Siam would be ordered to join the insurrectionary force. X had with him three detailed maps of the Andamans, and some photographs of Aberdeen Jail, and was well informed as to the numbers of officials, troops, police and warders on the islands. He also had a list of the more important political prisoners, including members of the Maniktolla conspiracy (see page 136) and headed with the names of the Savarkar brothers (see Chapter VII), which he said was written out for him by a Dr. Haidar in Berlin ; the handwriting, however, turned out to be remarkably like that of Bhupendra Nath Dutt (see page 218). These documents, of course, corroborated X's

statement of the design against the Andamans in a remarkable way.

THE S. S. "MAVERICK"

Another map in X's possession was a tracing of the mouths of the Ganges, given to him in Batavia, on which certain positions were marked by pin-pricks; this map [287] was apparently connected with the *Maverick* enterprise, as information previously obtained in Batavia was to the effect that the *Maverick*, if all had gone well, was to have been met in the Sunda Straits and ordered to proceed to the mouths of the Ganges; it will be remembered that a map of the Sundarbans, the delta of the Ganges, was found in possession of the Bengali gang encountered at Balasore (see page 729).

THE "HENRY S."

Further light was also thrown on the voyage of the *Henry S.* X knew that a schooner which was working under Bangkok department was to land arms at Chittagong, and mentioned that a German named Metzker had gone to Pontianak to meet her. He also stated that one of the signs of the Batavia department was the code signal M. W. which a ship was to hoist by day; at night the signal was three white lights horizontally, to be answered by two red lights placed horizontally on the shore. Now among the Indians arrested in Bangkok at the beginning of August, 1915, was a certain Shiv Dayal Kapur, and in a note-book belonging to him was a pencil sketch of a ship with three horizontal lights at the mast-head. Above this the following notes were made in Hindustani:—"Schooner, 1st August; 5,000 revolvers; Chittagong," and below was written "Anjer" in English and the words "Java town" in Hindustani. He also had, in an old leather purse, a piece of paper bearing a representation of four flags flying at a mast-head in the following order:—V, V, M, M. The flags were the proper code flags and were drawn in colours, and in the same purse was a scrap of paper with the following notes in a very German hand:—"Arr. 10 August Ch; S arrive in one week." Again it will be remembered that Boehm (see page 275) gave the number of revolvers which the *Henry S.* was to carry as 5,000, which agrees with the number noted by Shiv Dayal Kapur. Boehm also had among his notes the names of Hassan Zade, Jo (*sic*) Singh, Chatterji and

Chenchiah (see page 285), and a slip of paper bearing the signal M. V. Taking all these points together, and assuming that X made a slip in giving the signal as M. W. when it was really M. V., it appears that the Germans and the agents in Siam of the *Ghadr* [288] party were co-operating in this enterprise, and that the *Henry S.* was intended to land arms somewhere near Chittagong.

THE BURMA MILITARY POLICY

The scheme proposed in relation to Siam itself was very confused in its details, but in general terms what it amounted to was that Indians from the Far East and America were to collect up-country near the borders of Siam and Burma, where they were to be armed and drilled with German help; parties were to proceed across the frontier and secure the co-operation of the Burma Military Police, half of whom were Sikhs and Mahomedans, and with their assistance they were to gain possession of the whole province. The latter part of this promising scheme came to light some time before anything practical was done by the enemy, and careful enquiries were made in Burma into the state of feeling among the men of the Military Police. No signs of disaffection were discovered, and steps were taken to redress such petty grievances as were found to exist.

EARLY EVENTS IN BANGKOK

One of the first signs of trouble in Bangkok was the discovery, at the end of 1914, that copies of the *Ghadr* were coming in by post in large numbers, many of the bundles being addressed to "Prince Charlie, C/o. the Arya Samaj"; this was afterwards found to be the name assumed by one Chalia Ram who was deeply implicated in the plot. This matter was brought to the notice of the Siamese Government who promised to take suitable measures, and at the same time gave an assurance that they would not permit Siamese territory to be used as a base of conspiracy against a friendly neighbouring Power, an assurance to which they most faithfully adhered. Another indication was supplied by a German in Bangkok. When the 5th Light Infantry mutined at Singapore in February, 1915, it was freely suggested that the Germans interned at Singapore had instigated the rising, and to repel this suggestion the German alluded to wrote a letter which appeared in a Bangkok newspaper on 24th February, 1915. In his desire to clear his countrymen, however, he gave away the fact

that he had [289] met in Bangkok some six weeks before an educated Indian, a leader of a revolutionary movement and well supplied with gold, who told him he was going to Singapore to cause a rising there, and that other leaders were at work elsewhere and were well provided with funds. Here, then, were two interesting facts of which due notice was taken, the first that Indian revolutionary leaders were about in Bangkok, and the second that they were taking Germans into their confidence.

SIKHS PASSING THROUGH SIAM

The next point noticed was the appearance of successive parties of Sikhs arriving in Bangkok from the Far East with the intention of travelling overland to India. Some of these parties made their way into Northern Siam and were for the time lost to sight, and others left by sea with the supposed intention of disembarking at Bandon and proceeding to Burma by land. By the end of April, 1915, it was estimated that about 100 Indians had thus passed through Bangkok, and it was also noted that there was a tendency among Sikhs previously resident in Siam to go back to India. Again about the middle of July, 1915, Jodh Singh Mahajan, who was last mentioned as having sailed from San Francisco to Manila as one of Boehm's party (see page 275), was found to have arrived in Bangkok. He now called himself Hassan Zade, and had a passport in this name which was issued to him in New York in April, 1915, in which he was described as a Persian; he was accompanied by Balwant Singh, who was already known as a disloyal Sikh priest, and Thakur Singh, who was reputed in Shanghai and Nanking to be a disaffected and dangerous character. Two more suspicious Indians whose arrival has already been mentioned were Sukumar Chatterji and Darisi Chenchiah (see page 285), and a sixth against whom evidence was obtained was Shiv Dayal Kapur (see page 287), a Punjabi who had been in the Chinese Customs at Shanghai and arrived in Bangkok early in June, 1915. The facts regarding these men, so far as they were known at the time, were laid before the Siamese Government, and early in August, 1915, they were arrested and eventually deported to Singapore.

[290] EARLY EVENTS IN BURMA

Meantime in Burma also various signs of trouble had been observed. On 1st March, 1915, a Mahomedan Rajput of the

Ambala District who had been for years in Hong Kong, named Hassan Khan (not to be confused with Hassan Zade *alias* Jodh Singh) hired post box No. 340, Rangoon. Towards the end of April information was received on which the box was searched, and a postcard was found addressed to a certain Ishar Das by Hassan Khan who now gave his own address as "C/o Gyan Chand, Mesort village, Siam". The card, however, had been posted at Myawaddy, in Burma, just across the border from Mesort; these villages are due West of Raheng, a place in Siam some 300 miles North of Bangkok, and the overland route to Burma favoured by the conspirators was *via* Raheng, Mesort and Myawaddy to Moulmein. When Hassan Khan was in Rangoon he lived at 16, Dufferin Street; this house was therefore searched and some of his visiting cards were found; two more letters to Ishar Das, who also formerly lived at this address, were obtained elsewhere by the police. The letters were couched in veiled and mysterious terms, and one of them was written from the Military Police Sikh Temple in Moulmein asking Ishar Das for money and alluding to Babu Hassan Khan. Ishar Das was afterwards arrested at Moulmein on his way back to Siam. He turned out to be Harnam Singh of Sahri (see page 249), and was therefore an important capture, and he stated that he had come to Rangoon from Siam with a certain Sohan Lal who will be heard of again. He also explained that on 11th April, 1915, after Sohan Lal and Hassan Khan had returned to Siam, he telegraphed to the former at Bangkok for money which was sent to him by Chalia Ram, the man already noticed under the *alias* of "Prince Charlie."

SEDITIONOUS LITERATURE

To return to Myawaddy, the village on the Burmo-Siam frontier, about the middle of June, 1915, a large parcel of seditious literature was seized here which had been brought across the border from Raheng in Siam, by Chalia Ram and a Sikh named Man Singh, to be posted in British territory. It contained about 200 copies of the *Ghadr*, in Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi (see page 123) and about [291] a thousand copies of two leaflets evidently reproduced locally by some gelatine process. One was a poem from the *Ghadr*, followed by a short piece of original composition, and the other, which was entitled "A Message of Love to Military Brethren," was a scurrilous attack on the British Government and the English. The title of the latter shows that it was

addressed to the Military Police, and in a passage in the former the native officers of the Military Police were specially invited not to be tempted by the medals and badges of slavery, but to throw them away, wash out the old stains of servitude and adorn their breasts with the insignia of freedom (see page 229).

PARTIES ARRESTED IN BURMA

Two parties of Indians who entered Burma from Siam by the Raheng-Mesort-Myawaddy route were arrested and detained under the Ingress into India Ordinance (see page 242), the first at the end of April, 1915, consisting of five Indians and an American named Charles W. Allan, and the second, consisting of 16 Sikhs and one Mohamedan, early in May. They were all more or less connected with the *Ghadr* movement, though there were no prominent leaders among them, and it appeared that Allan was in the pay of the Indians for revolutionary purposes, one of them remarking to a friend, "Charlie is of the party and has been sent from America." He was afterwards released and deported to the Straits Settlements and eventually moved on further East.

SOHAN LAL PATHAK

These significant incidents were followed by one of much greater importance, the arrest at Maymyo on 14th August, 1915, of Sohan Lal Pathak, already noticed in connection with Rangoon under the name of Sohan Lal, who had come into Burma by another route. His position in relation to the *Ghadr* conspiracy is indicated in a letter addressed to him which was intercepted by the censor at Singapore in June, 1915. It purported to be from R. Lewyes of 1901, Baker Street, San Francisco, one of the names and addresses used by Ram Chandra Peshawari, and was written by him on 28th April, 1915, in reply to a letter from Sohan Lal received the same day. In this letter Ram Chandra replied to certain complaints, and [292] stated that he was remitting to him that day 100 dollars by telegraph; Sohan Lal, then, was evidently a direct emissary of the *Ghadr* headquarters. On the date in question some men of the Mountain Battery stationed at Maymyo, who had been out shooting, met Sohan Lal who harangued them on the folly of serving Government and endeavoured to seduce them from their allegiance. The men, feigning acquiescence, held Sohan Lal in play until they met their own *Jemadar*, when, by a clever ruse, the agitator was quietly secured. It was well that

this was so, for Sohan Lal had on his person three automatic pistols and some two hundred and seventy cartridges. His papers, too, proved highly interesting. They included a copy of "New Light and New Science" by Har Dayal; a copy of the *Jehan-i-Islam*, a flagrantly seditious Mahomedan paper (see page 298); several photographic copies of a *fatwa* (see page 297), the original of which purported to bear the seal of the Khalif of Islam and to embody an appeal by the dignitary to the faithful to destroy unbelievers; elaborate formulae for the making of explosives; and a copy of the *Ghadr* paper. Five days later Narain Singh, who was known to have been in Sohan Lal's company, was captured in a coffee-shop in Maymyo town; he had on his person a fully-loaded postal, which he attempted to use against the police, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, besides two copies of the Turkish *fatwa* and a copy of the *Ghadr*. Narain Singh had been employed on the railway in Siam and had come to Burma with Sohan Lal. With the *Ghadr* to appeal to the Sikhs and the Islamic *fatwa* for the special benefit of Mahomedans these two men were evidently prepared to corrupt the followers of both religions. Sohan Lal was put on his trial under the Defence of India Act, and executed in Mandalay in February, 1916, and Narain Singh was afterwards convicted in the Mandalay conspiracy case and sentenced to death.

GERMAN MONEY

Before rendering active help to the *Ghadr* movement the Germans had first to find out whether it was worth helping, then to secure suitable agents, and lastly to send them off to America to settle details. All this took time, and it is not till the Chicago meeting of March, 1915 (see page 274) [293] that they are found to be putting their money into the Far Eastern plot, while their influence in Siam does not become apparent till about the middle of June, 1915, or just about the time when Boehm and his party reached Manila. The earlier parties of Sikhs passing through Siam to Burma may therefore be regarded as *Ghadr* expeditions pure and simple, while it will now be shown that Sohan Lal's party was part of the German scheme.

SHIV DAYAL KAPUR

It has been ascertained that when Shiv Dayal Kapur, from whose interesting note-book extracts have already been given, was

sent off from Shanghai on the 18th of May to go to Bangkok with messages and money for the conspirators there, great interest was taken in the arrangements for his departure by a German named Mueller. Shiv Dayal arrived in Bangkok on June 3rd, 1915, where he met Atma Ram and Santokh Singh and delivered to the latter, according to his instructions, a closed envelope marked simply "O.S." On the evening of the second day after his arrival he was taken by these two men to German Club where the "O.S." letter was shown to one of the members; the latter, on opening it, telephoned to another German who shortly afterwards arrived and was introduced as Sinniker. There is little doubt, from the description given, that this was the German Charge-d'Affaires in Bangkok, Dr. Remy, who was well known for some years in Simla as Assistant and also as Officiating Consul General for Germany. On reading the "O.S." letter Sinniker told Shiv Dayal and his friends that if they were in need of money or anything else they should apply to him. Santokh Singh, who was present, asked for 4,000 ticals (about £300) and arrangements were made to pay it then and there. Next day Shiv Dayal, Santokh Singh and two others left Bangkok by rail for Pakoh. On this journey they met Sohan Lal, Hassan Khan and others connected with the conspiracy, and at Pakoh they met a German who was introduced to Shiv Dayal as the Military Adviser of the Indian revolutionary party. Shiv Dayal was then ordered back to Bangkok by Santokh Singh, with instructions to arrange for the journey of Kumod Nath Mukherjee (see page 280), [294] to pay him the money which he required, and to send up-country to Santokh Singh himself 72 sovereigns and 450 ticals for the use of parties proceeding to Burma and Yunnan, the former evidently Sohan Lal's. A day or two after his return to Bangkok Shiv Dayal went with Atma Ram to the German Club, and the same German who introduced Sinniker to them on the former occasion paid over 4,000 ticals for these objects. Shiv Dayal then despatched Atma Ram up-country with the money required by Santokh Singh, and paid K. N. Mukherji his 2,200 ticals, entering all three transactions in his note-book.

DR. REMY

A further sum of 3,000 ticals was paid to Shiv Dayal by Sinniker himself at the German Legation in Bangkok on 11th July, 1915, with a view to his sending a message to Calcutta to arrange

for the landing of arms in Bengal, and this payment also was duly noted by Shiv Dayal. The last payment was not directly intended for the Siam scheme, but is mentioned to show the direct relation which existed at that time between the German Embassy and Shiv Dayal. It would perhaps be giving the Germans too much credit to suppose that when they sent Dr. Remy, with his Indian experience, to Bangkok, they anticipated that it would be used as a base of operations against India, but the possibility cannot be entirely excluded. It must also be explained that Santokh Singh was already known, from references to him in Ram Chandra Peshawari's letter to Sohan Lal Pathak (see page 292), to be an important emissary of the *Ghadr* party.

CAUSES OF FAILURE

Thus it is established that German money was put into Sohan Lal's expedition, the object of which was to raise the Burma Military Police in revolt, that the German Embassy in Bangkok was advising and assisting the Indian leaders of the conspiracy, and that there was a German agent up-country at Pakoh to help the Indian revolutionary parties passing through. These points confirm in a remarkable way the statements of X and Z, and the subsequent arrest of Boehm in September, 1915, explains Z's reference to the German who was coming to train the [295] revolutionary bands on the Burmo-Siam frontier. The attitude of friendly neutrality adopted by the Government of Siam, the vigilance of the Government of Burma, and the good discipline and loyalty of the Military Police at Maymyo were the main obstacles to the success of the combined *Ghadr* and German plot. The scheme, however, was badly organised and co-ordinated, and in both this and the Batavia scheme the enemy suffered from difficulties of communication and control. Some of the Indian leaders were bold and fairly capable men, but the Europeans associated with them were a poor lot; of Boehm in particular an acute observer who saw him frequently has remarked that no one but a Bengali could have chosen him to lead an expedition. The attempt to control the *Ghadr* side of the conspiracy from a place as far away as San Francisco was bound to end in failure, and any chance of success was diminished by the fact that Bhagwan Singh, whom Ram Chandra Peshawari fondly imagined to be managing the affair in Siam, never got nearer the centre of operations than Manila. References to him under the name of Jakh Ji (his full

name is Bhagwan Singh Jakh) in Ram Chandra's letter to Sohan Lan (see page 292) showed that he was considered one of the principal agents of the *Ghadr* party in the Far East. Further there is not the slightest doubt that the Germans were misled by the information supplied by their Indian advisers. Jodh Singh Mahajan, for example, talked very big in Chicago to Boehm, and he and H. L. Gupta conveyed to their German friend the impression that there were 10,000 men on the frontier of Burma ready to take up arms and only waiting to be trained. When he got a little nearer to the scene of action, at Bangkok, Jodh Singh began to see the hopelessness of the position, and complained to a friend that he had been badly let down as there ought to have been two or three thousand men ready whereas there was hardly anybody. It is easy to understand that the Germans should have been willing to support a scheme which boasted of several thousand fighting men amongst its adherent; they were not so likely to put their money into a plot to take India with three men and a boy.

[296] FATE OF CONSPIRATORS

The fate of most of the leading Indian members of the conspiracy was decided by a special tribunal appointed under the Defence of India Act which sat at Mandalay from March to July, 1916. Of 17 persons prosecuted under sections 121 and 121A, Indian Penal Code, 4 were discharged, 7 were sentenced to death, 5 to transportation for life and 1 to transportation for 7 years. Amongst those sentenced to death were Harnam Singh of Sahri *alias* Ishar Das, Chalia Ram *alias* "Prince Charlie" and Narain Singh, the companion of Sohan Lal on the expedition to Maymyo; Hassan Khan, whose part in the conspiracy has been noticed above, gave evidence as an approver in the case.

THE KHALIF OF ISLAM

It has already been pointed out that the attempts of the Germans to disturb the peace of India through Persia and Afghanistan naturally relied on creating disaffection among the Mahomedans, and in this branch of their activities the Germans made use of Turks and of disaffected Egyptians as well as of disloyal Indians. The first thing they had to do was to persuade the Indian Mahomedans that Turkey was engaged in a Holy War or *Jihad*, and that it was their religious duty to take sides against England and her allies. This could be the more plausibly urged

owing to the fact that a very large section of Mahomedans regards the Sultan of Turkey for the time being as the Khalif of Islam, the head of the Mahomedan religion. Like the followers of other religions the Mahomedans have their sects and schisms, and it is no more true that all Muslims regard the Sultan as Khalif than that all Christians admit the supremacy of the Pope of Rome. There are, indeed, many arguments against the proposition that the present Sultan is the Khalif; he does not belong to the Arab clan of the Koreishi, the tribe to which the Prophet himself belonged, he lacks one or two other attributes regarded by most as desirable and by many as essential for the true Khalif to possess, and even if it be admitted that the last Sultan, Abdul Hamid, was the Khalif, it is not clear, on strictly religious grounds, why the spiritual succession should follow the temporal, and the office of the Khalifate should devolve upon the successor [297] of the deposed Sultan of Turkey. On the other hand there is a great deal to be said for the view that the Muslim sovereign ruler who is *de facto* guardian of the *Haramain*, the two sacred places Mecca and Jerusalem, should be regarded by all Muslims as the Khalif of Islam. It is clear, therefore, that the question is a very controversial one, and the attitude of the British Government is that it is one for Mahomedans themselves to decide.

DECLARATION OF "JEHAD"

Shortly after the Turks joined in the war the Turkish Government declared a Jihad or Holy War against the Allies. Turkish newspapers of the third week of November, 1914, contained facsimiles of 5 *fatwas* (religious pronouncements) in Turkish signed by the Shaikh-ul-Islam. In former years the office of the Shaikh-ul-Islam was ranked only below that of the Sultan, but latterly the Grand Vizier has been given precedence among Turkish officials above the Shaikh-ul-Islam. The latter is still a member of the Conseil d' État and a member of the Turkish Government. He is the head of the Religious Department, which has many branches, and his pronouncements carry the full authority of the Ottoman Government. The words of the *fatwas* are not easy to decipher, but their general meaning is as follows :—

Fatwa No. 1 declares that to preserve the sanctity of the Islamic countries and of Islam, the Ruler of Islam ordains that Jihad should be waged by young and old.

Fatwa No. 2 declares that whereas the sea and the land forces of the Khalifate of Islam and its dominions have been attacked, it is now the duty of all Mahomedans to wage *Jihad* on the Russians, the English, the French and their allies and Governments.

Fatwa No. 3 declares that any Mahomedans who do not join in the *Jihad* are highly sinful and deserve the wrath of God and punishment for their sin.

Fatwa No. 4 declares that, whereas Mahomedans under the aforesaid Governments are being compelled to fight against the Islamic Government against their will, it is forbidden by the Khalif to fight against the armies of the [298] Islamic Government, and anyone who says the contrary deserves the fire of hell.

Fatwa No. 5 declares that those Mahomedans of England, France, Russia, Servia and Montenegro, who fight against the Islamic Government and its allies, Germany and Austria, deserve the punishment of God.

THE "JEHAN-I-ISLAM"

To convey these views to Indian Mahomedans use was made of a paper called the *Jehan-i-Islam* (The Mahomedan World) started in Constantinople in May, 1914, and published in Arabic, Turkish, and Urdu; the Urdu portion was edited by Abu Said el-Arabi, a native of Gujrat in the Punjab. This paper translated into Urdu the *fatwas* quoted above, and at the same time published an article on the subject of *jihad*. In the course of it the writer says the English have stopped the pilgrimage from Egypt; how then will Mahomedans show their faces before the Prophet on the day of Judgment? The intention of these low-class infidels is to desecrate the tomb of the Prophet of God, and the English War Minister—the bastard Kitchener—has said that he will convert the *Ka'aba* (the sacred shrine at Mecca) into a Coffee House. The writer then refers to Russia. In conjunction with the English she has plundered Persia, hanged the Sikat-ul-Islam and bombarded the shrine of the Imam. The English have caused the Mahomedans to fight with their co-religionists. How long will the Mahomedans remain silent? They should declare *jihad* in the way of God for the honour of the Koran and their religion, and for the protection of the *Ka'aba* and the holy places. The infidels should be turned out of the Caucasus, Egypt, Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, and Mahomedans should be released from

the grip of their tyranny. In India the Mahomedan dies from the effect of kicks and blows; India should be liberated, and the *badmash* (rascal) King George of England should be skinned and his skin used as leather for making shoes.

GERMAN INTRIGUES IN PERSIA

The direct route to India from Constantinople lies through Persia and Afghanistan. In Persia the main object of the Germans and Turks was to create [299] anti-British feeling amongst the Persians themselves, and consequently there was not much opportunity for the employment of Indians there. In 1915 it was found that small parties of armed Germans and Austrians, accompanied by Asiatic mercenaries, were travelling about Persia, and this gave rise to military operations which are outside the scope of this volume. At the same time an attempt was made to use Persia as a base of intrigue against India, and it is remarkable that, like Dr. Remy at Bangkok, the German Minister at Tehran had recent Indian experience; he was Prince Henry XXXI of Reuss who was not long ago a prominent figure in Simla as Consul-General for Germany. One of the leaders of anti-British plotting in Persia was Herr Wassmuss, the German Consul at Bushire; he was arrested early in 1915, and among his effects were found several thousand copies of five different leaflets intended for Indian consumption, of which one was in English, two in Urdu, one in Hindi and one in Marathi. The English leaflet, headed "Awake and Arise, O Princes and Peoples of India," and signed "Bande Mataram", concluded with an impassioned appeal to the "soldiers of India" to shoot down their English officers, to massacre the English soldiers, and "share with us the glory of becoming a free nation among the free nations of the world" One of the Urdu leaflets was intended for Mahomedans, as it was an incitement to wage *jihad*, and the other was addressed to the Sikhs; the Hindi leaflet made separate appeals to Hindu, Mahomedan, Rajput and Sikh soldiers with the stock arguments suitable to each class.

AMBA PARSHAD

Two Indians who were employed in these intrigues in Persia had already achieved notoriety. Sufi Amba Parshad, the friend of Ajit Singh who absconded to Persia along with him in 1909 (see page 352), was left behind here when Ajit Singh proceeded

to Europe in 1911, and when the war broke out he took an active part in the German plots. He was arrested once and escaped, but being arrested a second time he was sentenced to death by court-martial and committed suicide in January, 1917, the day before he was to have been shot.

[300] DAWOOD ALI KHAN AND GEORGE FREEMAN

The other Indian, who calls himself by the Mahomedan name of Dawood Ali Khan, but is a Bengali named P. N. Dutt, had come to notice before as a friend of George Freeman in New York (see page 221) and of Madame Cama and her party in Paris. On August 3rd, 1915, he wrote to the former from Kerman in Persia the following letter which is for several reasons of considerable interest:—

Kerman (Persia),
August 3rd, 1915.

MY DEAR MR. FREEMAN,

I was sorry I could not write you earlier to keep you informed of my whereabouts, as I had to stop all correspondence for some time. Hoping to be excused. I believe my last letter from Constantinople, just on the eve of my depart, had reached you all right. Our fond ideas cherished by Har Dayal and myself on the banks of the Bosphorous has not yet come out to be a reality; but if this present war lasts for a long time sooner or later will my ideas be fulfilled. Har Dayal mysteriously disappeared from Constantinople for reasons known to him, and I had to work single-handed. My travels from Constantinople to Kerman by land route was very interesting. I visited Bushire, Shiraz, Ispahan, Yezd (C. Persia) as a delegate of the German Expeditionary party. I had my days of trouble at Bushire which is a zone of British influence. I had to make a midnight flight from there. I was there only four days, but kept hidden by Persian Nationalists. The Consul and a German doctor were arrested and sent over to Bombay as prisoners.

It was only two months since I had been here. Kerman is a province of South-East Persia bordering on Baluchistan. The arrival of an Indian as a German delegate near Baluchistan, the British Consul here smells something in it. There is a rumour from B. Consulate, both at Ispahan and Kerman, that if the German expeditionary party proceeds beyond Kerman, they will be

[301] warmly received by British Indian troops. The German Consul, Dr. Erish Zugmayer, arrived here three weeks ago and I am helping him to start the Consulate. Persia has entered a new life and although the Government at Tehran, influenced by Russia and England, or rather bribed by them, remains neutral, the people are entirely with the Germans and stand for the war. There is a change of Ministry and new Cabinet has just been formed, the particulars of which has not yet reached me. This new Cabinet is entirely due to German influence.

I would be leaving here very soon. Please send G. A. (Gaelic American) and other literature, if possible, to Kerman address. I do always appreciate the valuable services and help I had hitherto received from you. Give my hearty salaams to Mr. Devoy and other friends of G. A. and remember me kindly to our Indian friends.

Will you please let me know the present situation in Ireland and the attitude of the Washington Government in the present crisis? I am just writing to Madame Cama and Har Dayal after a lapse of 8 months. If you have occasion to write to them, be good enough to inform that I am in Persia, for my letters may not reach them. The Postal Service is very irregular now-a-days.

I am getting on well, hoping you to be the same. Excuse me again for the delay. With kindest person regards.

Höflichst grüssend,
DAWOOD ALI KHAN

THE MISSION TO KABUL

A more direct attempt to interfere in India was made by the German mission to Kabul which consisted of a party of Germans and Austrians with Asiatic followers. Of the latter the most prominent were Mahendra Pratap (see page 268) and Maulvi Mahomed Barakatullah, who was last mentioned as preaching the *Ghadr* doctrines to the Sikhs on the Pacific Coast of America. The party arrived at Herat on 24th August, 1915, and when they were received in *darbar* by the Governor they showed him the proclamation [302] of *jehad* issued with the authority of the Sultan of Turkey, and promised that, if Afghanistan would take part in the Holy War, Germany would lend officer and would arrange for the cession to Afghanistan of India as far as Bombay and Turkistan as far as Samarkand. The

members of the party were placed under a strong guard and were not allowed to associate freely with the populace. At first they contrived to circulate wonderful stories of their triumphal march through Persia, but the impression caused by their arrival soon died down and many people believed them to be fugitives.

KUNWAR MAHENDRA PRATAP

The party proceeded *viâ* Kandahar to Kabul, and the following letter from Mahendra Pratap, published in the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* of Kabul, the only newspaper in Afghanistan, on 4th May, 1916, gives an account of their previous doings and throws some light on the character of this egregious person:—

My dear friend, the editor of the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar*, excuse me for the small trouble I give you. I was surprised to see myself defamed in certain Indian newspapers without rhyme or reason, hence I would like to contradict an erroneous version through you.

It is alleged by these papers that I passed myself off as a big Maharaja and joined the staff of His Imperial Majesty the Kaiser. This is a false accusation against me. I never said that I was a Maharaja or even a Raja. I never joined the staff or any other service. It is true that I went to Germany at the time of the outbreak of war to see the state of affairs in that country. The German Government showed me every consideration and allowed me an opportunity of watching the fighting from the advanced trenches and from an aeroplane. Moreover His Imperial Majesty the Kaiser himself granted me an audience. Subsequently, having set right the problem of India and Asia with the Imperial German Government, and having received the necessary credentials, I started towards the East.

I had interviews with the Khedive of Egypt and with the Princes and Ministers of Turkey, as well as with [303] the renowned Enver Pasha and His Imperial Majesty the Holy Khalif, Sultan-ul-Muazzim. I settled the problem of India and the East with the Imperial Ottoman Government, and received the necessary credentials from them as well. German and Turkish officers and Maulvi Barakatullah Sahib were sent with me to help me; they are still with me. Despite great hardships and dangers, and through the kindness of a God-fearing man, we reached Afghanistan *viâ* Baghda:d and Ispahan. Now we are waiting owing to the neutrality of His Majesty the Amir, though we are the guests of

your Government and are treated with every comfort and respect. My friends should know this. If they do not feel gratified they should never talk nonsense any more. I am enemy to no man or nation; I am a friend of the world. My sole aim is that everybody and every nation should live independently and comfortably, in his house and country respectively, and that war and struggles of this kind may be obliterated from the face of the earth.

Mahendra Pratap, a servant of the world and India, and a friend of Buddhists, Christians, Hindus and Moslems, who is called Kunwar Sahib of Mursan by some and Raja Sahib of Hathras by others.

P.S.—None of my friends, nor my brother the Raja Bahadur of Mursan, Aligarh, nor my kinsman the Maharaja Sahib of Jhind (Punjab) nor the Art School, Prem Mahavidyalaya, Brindaban, is responsible for my personal views or deeds.

M. PRATAP

RECEPTION OF THE MISSION

The mission was not received with any warmth by His Majesty the Amir who, after keeping them waiting a long time, told the Germans that he would not give them any assistance, and directed them, early in 1916, to leave the country. The Amir, however, detained the Austrians and Indians of the party; the ground for this difference of treatment was that the Germans came to Kabul as envoys, whereas the Austrians and most of the Indians were escaped prisoners of war.

[304] THE SIRAJ-UL-AKHBAR

Though the official attitude of the Afghan Government was strictly correct, the party received some sympathy from the local newspaper, and in 1916, during the illness of the editor, Maulvi Barkatullah is believed to have undertaken his duties. The permanent editor, Mahmud Tarzi, the son of an Afghan notable, was brought up in Turkey and conducted the paper on strongly pro-Turkish lines; consequently the temporary change of editors involved no change of policy. It was probably owing to Barakatullah's influence that the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* published in April, 1916, a reproduction from a Constantinople paper of a speech delivered there by Taraknath Das (see page 271) whom Barakatullah knew in America. In this speech Taraknath praises the

work of the German officers employed in training the Ottoman army and the intrepidity and bravery of the Turks. He points out that the Islamic religion is found on militarism, and that it was owing to the principle of *jehad* that the Ottoman empire increased and spread Islam over the whole world. Then Moslems grew careless and lazy, and it was not till alien nations began actually to encroach on the seat of the Khalifate that they were roused from their indolence and arose to fight for their religion and the truth. He then proceeds to applaud the policy of the Ottoman Government and in particular the alliance with Austria and Germany. He points out that it was Germany and Austria who declared war and not the allies; that their reason for doing so was to purify the earth of the brutal atrocities practised on mankind by their enemies, and to save the unfortunate inhabitants of India, Egypt, Persia, Morocco and Africa from the English, French and Russians who had forcibly seized their countries and reduced them to slavery. He goes on to ascribe the curious alliance of England and Russia to personal and selfish motives, declaring that the union between Germany, Austria and Turkey is based upon honesty of purpose and goodwill. Turkey, he declares, entered the war not only to defend her own country and to maintain her liberty, but also to put new life into 300 million Moslems, and to establish the Afghan Government on a firm basis with 350 million Indians, both Hindus and Mahomedans, as its supporters and helpers. [305] He declares the Ottoman Government to be the best in Europe, and points out that a valuable opportunity has arisen to establish an Islamic union in the East.

ARTICLE ON THE DEATH OF LORD KITCHENER

In this connection an article which appeared in the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* of 16th July, 1916, on the death of Lord Kitchener, is also remarkable. The writer says that Kitchener's military achievements do not justify his reputation. At the battle of Omdurman dervishes armed with swords and spears attacked troops armed with modern guns and were easily destroyed. After the battle Kitchener followed the example of Chengiz Khan and Tamerlane and mercilessly put to death wounded men. He then desecrated the tomb of the Mahdi, and had his body taken out and trampled on and his head sent to England. In the Transvaal war 30,000 Boers held out against 200,000 British troops until Kitchener burnt their homes and property and interned

their women and children in unhealthy camps. During his later days in Egypt Kitchener outrivalled Pharaoh in his claim to be almighty; the fact that both were drowned in the sea teaches a lesson which righteous men will not fail to note.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Indian members of the mission were not unduly depressed by the coldness of their official welcome to Kabul, and early in 1916 they excogitated a scheme for the Provisional Government of India, nominating Mahendra Pratap as President, Barakatullah as Prime Minister, and a certain Obeidullah, a Sikh convert to Islam, as Minister for India; it is said that they offered the Amir the kingly crown, which he like Julius Caesar, refused. They then attempted to establish relations with foreign powers, and in March, 1916, a small Indian embassy consisting of a Sikh named Shamsar Singh and a Mahomedan named Mahomed Ali, with two Indian servants, was despatched from Kabul with letters to the Governor of Russian Turkistan and to the Czar of Russia. They also carried a letter signed "Md. Barakatullah, *Diwan Sahib*" (Minister of State) to the officer in charge of the Russian frontier asking him to help the party in [306] their journey as they were engaged on a most important diplomatic mission.

EMBASSY TO RUSSIA

The letter to the Governor of Turkistan was signed by Mahendra Pratap. He wrote that he had been fortunate enough to secure the help of Germany and Turkey for the cause of Indian nationalism, and that as Indians were strictly neutral in their attitude towards the European war he hoped to secure the help of Russia also. He trusted that Russia would take advantage of this unique opportunity to gain the friendship of Afghanistan and of India, and by so doing establish her influence in Asia on a permanent basis. "If the European situation be regarded as an obstacle", the letter continued, "that can easily be solved. Provided Russia will take up the Asiatic question earnestly, I, as the representative of a neutral nation and as the humble friend of the German and Turkish Governments, can do much to bring about an understanding." With this communication was enclosed a brief letter to the Czar, also signed by Mahendra Pratap, in which he expressed regret that India's two powerful neighbours should be fighting each other, and hoped

that they would soon unite to crush England, the tyrant of the world, and set free the people whom she had enslaved. The extravagant claims of the embassy failed to impress the Russian authorities, and the progress of the party was arrested at Tashkend where they were detained for a time and eventually permitted to return to Kabul.

THE HINDUSTANI FANATICS

Before proceeding with the doings of the Provisional Government it is necessary to go back a little and relate the adventures of a party of Mahomedan students who ran away from Lahore and, after visiting the chief of the Hindustani Fanatics, eventually reached Kabul. The Hindustani Fanatics are a curious small colony of emigrants from India who crossed the border in 1824, under the leadership of Maulvi Sayed Ahmed Shah of Bareilly, and settled in the country of the Yusutzai. They are called by Mahomedans *mujahidin*, the plural of *mujahid*, which means a person devoted to [307] *jihad* or holy war, and the object of the founder was to foment rebellion against the "infidel" Sikhs who then ruled in the Punjab. During the Indian Mutiny of 1857 the Hindustani Fanatics attempted to cause trouble on the North-West Frontier; in this they were closely associated with the *wahabis* in India, a fanatical sect of Mahomedans named after their founder, Mahomed son of Abdul Wahab; he was a religious revivalist and was born in Nejd, in Arabia, in 1691. In the years following the Mutiny the Wahabi movement created in India serious disturbances which were not suppressed till about 1870, while the Hindustani Fanatics have been a constant source of mischief on the frontier. Their numbers have been maintained by recruits from India, and their settlement has been used as an asylum for refugees from justice; they were said in 1916 to number about 600, of whom 400 were fighting men. They were concerned in the frontier rising leading up to the fighting at Rustam on August, 15th, 1915, in which some of them took part, and after the battle of Shabkadr, later in the same year, 12 of the Fanatics, dressed in the black robes which they affect, were found dead on the field.

THE LAHORE STUDENTS

It was to this settlement that the party of 15 Mahomedan students who ran away from Lahore in February, 1915, first made their way. They informed Naimatullah, the chief of the clan,

that they had come to take part in a *jihad* and that they had 400 supporters in the Punjab; the latter replied that he could do nothing without the orders of the Amir, and sent four of his men to Kabul to announce their arrival and ask for further instructions. The four fanatics reached Kabul and had an interview with Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, the Amir's brother, who gave them an allowance of one rupee a day each and said that he would consult the Amir. About three weeks later Sirdar Nasrullah Khan sent for them and gave them a letter for their chief; he told them that people from India and from many of the tribes had been to consult him on the same subject, but there was no hope of success at present. The Amir advised them to keep quiet and tell the people of India to do the same, and if anything was to be done he would let them know and supply rifles and [308] ammunition. On the way back, at Barikab, the four Fanatics met the party of students; as nothing could be done without the Amir's orders the party had decided to go to Kabul, and they got as far as Jallalabad when they were detained by the *kotwal* (chief of police) pending the Amir's orders. The *kotwal* received instructions that they should be sent on and carefully looked after, and the whole party was mounted on mules and horses and accompanied to Kabul by an escort of two sergeants and eight troopers.

ARRESTS IN PERSIA

Of the party of students two have returned home, Abdul Khaliq, son of a retired Rissaldar Major (Native Officer of Cavalry), and Mahomed Hassan Khan, B.A., son of an Indian Inspector of Police, and one has died in Afghanistan. Several of the others were employed on various missions by the Provisional Government, and on January 1st, 1917, three of them, Shujaullah, Abdul Bari, and Abdul Qadir, arrived at Quetta from Persia, where they had been arrested by the Russians, along with Shamsheer Singh, and a servant named Chet Singh. Shamsheer Singh, after returning safely to Kabul from his unsuccessful mission to Russia, had been sent off again, this time with Abdul Bari, on a similar errand to Japan and China when he was caught. He turned out to be a certain Dr. Mathura Singh who was at one time a leader of Indian sedition in Shanghai and fled to India early in 1914 to escape arrest. When the *Ghadr* trouble began in the Punjab at the end of 1914 he threw in his lot with the revolutionaries and engaged in the manufacture of

bombs at Amritsar, and when the attempted insurrection failed he succeeded in escaping across the frontier. The other two students brought in to Quetta, Abdul Qadir and Shujallah, were on their way from Kabul with letters to the Sultan of Turkey when they met with the same fate as Shamsher Singh and his companion.

THE "MUHAJIRIN" STUDENTS

The general term applied to these students by their admirers is *muhajirin*, the plural of *muhajir*, which means one who performs *hijra* (flight or migration). It is the usual Arabic word for those who have to [309] leave their country owing to religious persecution, the historic instance being the *hijra*, or flight, the prophet Mahomed from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D., from which the dates of the Mahomedan calendar are calculated. Six of these *muhajirin* have been accounted for above, and the names of the remaining nine are given here as they may be heard of again :—

1. Abdul Hamid, son of Mahomed Hussain, of Ludhiana District (Medical College, Lahore).
2. Khushi Mahomed, son of Jan Mahomed, of Salobi, Jullundur (Medical College, Lahore).
3. Rahmat Ali, son of Karam Ilahi, of Lahore (Medical College, Lahore).
4. Mahomed Hassan, son of Ghulam Nabi, of Lahore (Islamia College, Lahore).
5. Fida Hussain, B.A., son of Syed Akbar Shah, of Campbellpur (Law College, Lahore).
6. Shaikh Abdullah, son of Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Secretary of the District Board, Mianwali (Government College, Lahore).
7. Allah Nawaz Khan, son of Khan Bahadur Rab Nawaz Khan, Honorary Magistrate, Multan City (Government College, Lahore).
8. Zafar Hussain, son of Hafiz Azimuddin Arain, of Karnal (Government College, Lahore).
9. Abdur Rashid, son of Hafiz Abdul Latif, Pleader of Lahore (Government College, Lahore).

Four other young Mahomedans who have followed their example are :—

1. Faqir Shah, Student in the High School, Kohat.
2. Pir Baksh, Student in the Primary Class, Kohat.

3. Abdul Latif of Kohat, Student in the Islamia College, Lahore.
4. Abdul Majid Kashmiri of the Kohat Police.

CAREER OF OBEIDULLAH

To explain the next effort of the "Provisional Government" it is necessary to relate a few particular of the past life [310] of Obeidullah, the "Minister for India". He comes from the Punjab and was originally by religion a Sikh, but was converted to Islam and educated at the Arabic College at Deoband in the Saharanpur District of the United Provinces. Thereafter he spent 12 years in Sind where he became an influential person and founded several Mahomedan schools. He then returned to Deoband College, in which he was appointed a professor, and started the Deoband Old Boys' Association, an apparently harmless society which became a centre of pan-Islamic intrigue. He was successful in undermining the loyalty of several of the staff, including the Head Master, Maulana Mahmud Hassan, a much respected and influential old gentleman whose religious and political feelings had been greatly upset by the incident of the Cawnpore Mosque (see page 379) and by the Balkan War. Obeiduallah was dismissed from the College owing to differences among the staff, and in 1913 he settled in Delhi where he became a friend of the well-known pro-Turkish agitator Mohamed Ali, Editor of *The Comrade*. When the war broke out Obeidullah began to travel about the country; he made his way to Sind, where he visited his friends and fellow pan-Islamists, and eventually proceeded *viâ* Quetta and Kandahar to Kabul, arriving at the beginning of October, 1915.

MAHMUD HASSAN GOES TO MECCA

On the 18th of September, 1915, Mahmud Hassan, the aged and respectable Head Maulvi of the Deoband College, sailed from Bombay by the *S. S. Akbar* to perform the *Haj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, accompanied by a party of *Maulvis* from the College. (*Maulvi* means master, and is a term generally applied to a learned man). It was believed at the time that their motives in making this journey were hostile to Government, and that it was their intention to meet and consult Turkish officers in the Hejaz, but the information was not sufficiently definite to warrant their detention. It is certain that Mahmud Hassan engaged in anti-British intrigues with Ghalib Pasha, the Wali

(Turkish Military Governor) of the Hejaz; the latter gave the *maulvi* a declaration of *jihad*, called after the writer *Ghalibnama*, which was sent to India by the hand of Maulvi Mahomed Mian [311] Ansari of Saharanpur, a member of Mahmud Hassan's party who returned in January, 1916. The *Ghalibnama* is believed to have been used with great effect in stirring up the fanatical tribes in Independent Territory between India and Afghanistan, and copies of it were also circulated in India.

THE SILK LETTERS

One of the plans of the Provisional Government in Kabul was to ally themselves with the Turkish Government, and with this object Obeidullah attempted to get into communication with his old friend Maulvi Mahmud Hassan. Accordingly he wrote him a long letter which he enclosed with a letter to the same person, dated the 8th of Ramzan, (9th July, 1916) and written by Mahomed Mian Ansari, who had by this time reached Kabul, and forwarded both by a special messenger with a covering letter addressed to Shaikh Abdul Rahim of Hyderabad, Sind. The latter was requested to send the two letters on by the hand of some reliable *Haji* (pilgrim) to Mahmud Hassan at Medina, or even to take them himself if no trusty messenger could be found. The bearer of these communications, which were evidently considered of great importance as they were written on yellow silk, did not proceed at once to his destination but showed them first to a loyal old Mahomedan gentleman in the Punjab with the result that they got no further.

INFORMATION IN THE LETTERS

Mahomed Mian Ansari's letter to Mahmud Hassan mentions the previous arrival of the German and Turkish missions, and remarks that "the German emissaries have returned; the Turks are staying but are without work". He also refers to the runaway students, and says that they have set the fire ablaze in Mohmand, Bajaur, Swat and other places, adding that "the circulation of the *Ghalibnama* had a marked effect in these parts." He then describes the formation of the Provisional Government, and says "it has commenced to establish centres in India and to make alliances with other powers, in which work initial success has been gained. The students are the moving limbs of this work, some of whom, after visiting the Durbar of the Khalif, will, [312] God willing, come to you." This evidently refers to Abdul

Qadir and Shujaullah, who, as has already been seen, did not reach the Court of the Sultan but came into British custody instead. The writer then goes on to give details regarding another body which has been or is to be formed, to be called "The Army of God" or "The Army of Liberation" or "The Muslim Salvation Army". Its first object is to bring about an alliance among Islamic rulers, and Mahmud Hassan is enjoined to convey these particulars as quickly as possible to the Ottoman Government and the Sultan "because this is the only way of dealing an effective blow at the infidels in India."

THE ARMY OF GOD

The letter from Obeidullah, enclosed with this, contained a complete tabular statement of the "Army of God". The General Headquarters were to be at Medina, and Mahmud Hassan was to be the head of the army with the title of *el Qaid* (General), while secondary headquarters under local generals were to be established at Constantinople, Tehran and Kabul, the general at Kabul being Obeidullah himself. The table gives the names of 3 patrons and 12 field-m Marshals, some of whom, it is quite clear, cannot have been consulted, 2 generals, the writer and the addressee of the letter, 30 lieutenant-generals, 16 major-generals, 24 colonels, 10 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 2 captains, and one lieutenant who rejoices in the historic if somewhat sinister appellation of Nadir Shah. Most of those appointed to the rank of lieutenant-general and under belong to India or the North-West Frontier, and, without assuming that any of them had consented to accept the proffered rank, the list forms an interesting arrangement in order of merit from Obeidullah's point of view. Of the three students who were captured and brought to Quetta Abdul Bari was a major-general and Abdul Qadir and Shujaullah colonels in the "Army of God", and of the remaining students one was entered as a colonel and six as lieutenant-colonels. It will be noticed that the army was weak in subordinate officers, and an examination of the list shows that Obeidullah, in making these appointments, was not unmindful of the principle that charity begins at home.

[313] ALTERED CONDITIONS

While the Provisional Government and the Army of God have their ridiculous side, there is no doubt that the general plan of inducing Afghanistan to declare war, with the help of Germany

and Turkey, and at the same moment raising a Mahomedan insurrection in India, was regarded by the conspirators in Kabul as feasible, and that they were, and in all probability still are, earnestly working for its fulfilment. Their main obstacle is of course the strict attitude of friendly neutrality adopted by the Amir, but quite apart from this other conditions are a good deal less favourable to their plans than they were.

THE SHARIF OF MECCA

The revolt against the Ottoman Government of the Sharif of Mecca has greatly weakened, if it has not entirely broken, the line of communication between India and Turkey, by means of pilgrims to Mecca and Medina, which Obeidullah attempted to use in furtherance of his schemes. The effect of the revolt was the greater as the Sharif himself was one of those on whose assistance the conspirators counted, being entered as No. 5 in the list of field-m Marshals in the "Army of God". On the contrary, however, he has taken action against the more important pro-Turkish Indian Moslems in Arabia which will prevent their employment in any conspiracy and even their return to India. Maulvi Mahmud Hassan himself, with four of his companions, was arrested in Mecca in December, 1916, and sent by order of the Sharif to Jeddah; they were afterwards removed by sea and are now interned in a British possession. Ghalib Pasha, the writer of the *Ghalibnama*, became a prisoner of war, and on being questioned at Cairo he admitted that he had signed a paper submitted to him by some Indian Mahomedans who came to see him.

ACTION TAKEN IN KABUL

The complete exposure of the plot which resulted from the enquiries made in connection with the silk letters has altered the situation very considerably both in Kabul and in India. Maulvi Abdul Razzaq, Chief Mullah of the Chief Court of Kabul, who was found to have abetted the intrigues of Obeidullah and his party, was imprisoned by [314] the Amir. He was afterwards released, but was ordered to pay a fine of Rs. 3,000 and forbidden to take any part in politics in future.

ACTION TAKEN IN INDIA

In India about a score of the more active conspirators have had their liberties as to residence and correspondence restricted

under the Defence of India Act, and a few are interned in jail. One of the most important, Abul Kalam Azad, formerly editor of the *Al Hilal*, a very objectionable pan-Islamic paper of Calcutta, has been ordered to reside in Ranchi and his correspondence is supervised. It was shown that he was partly responsible for the flight of the Lahore students, that he was in correspondence with other conspirators in India and in Afghanistan, and that he had been more than once invited by Obeidullah himself to go and join him in Kabul. He was able to put a good deal of money into the conspiracy as he was in touch with the rich Mahomedan community in Calcutta to whom he appeared to be a great leader.

MOVEMENT CONTINUES IN BERLIN

While these measures will make it difficult, at least for a time, to set on foot a similar conspiracy, it cannot be said that work in this direction has been dropped by the Germans or by certain parties in Afghanistan and their sympathisers in India. In September, 1916, the inaugural meeting of a Society of Islamic "Kultur" was held in Berlin, presided over by Enver Pasha, and early in 1917 an Urdu leaflet entitled "Good news for Mussalmans," and issued by this society, came to notice in India. It contains the announcement that copies can be obtained from Shaikh Abdul Aziz Shawish, 7, Koniggratzer Strasse, Berlin. Another leaflet, in Arabic, circulated in Independent Territory in April, 1917, which declares that those who fight for Germany and Turkey are "performing *jehad* in the way of God" is probably the work of the same society.

OPINION IN AFGHANISTAN

Again in Afghanistan there is a party in favour of war against Britain which has powerful leaders and adherents, though there is reason to believe that opinion in that [315] country has lately veered round to the view that things are not now going so well for the Central Powers of Europe, and that the Amir has been well advised to remain neutral.

THE WAHABIS

Enquiries in India have revealed a considerable revival of activity amongst the fanatical Mahomedan sect of Wahabis, who caused so much trouble 50 years ago, as well as a revival of interest in the Colony of Hindustani Fanatics who have of late re-

ceived increased supplies of money and very material additions to their numbers. Both men and money have come to them from the remotest parts of India. In January, 1917, it was found that a party of eight Mahomedans had joined the Fanatics from the districts of Rangpur and Dacca in Eastern Bengal, and in March, 1917, two Bengali Mahomedans were arrested in the North-West Frontier Province with Rs. 8,000 in their possession which they were conveying to the Colony. Some of this money was traced to the Rajshahi district, and enquiries there showed that the local leader of the Wahabi movement, and the probable source of these supplies, was a certain Maulvi Mahomed who turned out to be the son of a man who was deported at the time of the Wahabi disturbances half a century ago. The two men who were arrested had been for some time members of the Colony of Hindustani Fanatics, and had been sent down to their native districts in Bengal to raise more money. The original founder of the Colony was one of the first preachers of the Wahabi doctrines in India, and these and other enquiries show that a close connection still exists between the Fanatics and the descendants of the old Wahabi leaders, a combination which must always be regarded as a possible source of danger.

GERMAN-INDIAN CO-OPERATION

To conclude this account of German attempts to stir up disaffection among both Hindus and Mahomedans it may be of interest to quote the opinions of two Indian conspirators on the subjects of co-operation between Indians and Germans and between Hindus and Mahomedans. The first is taken from a letter from a leader in [316] the United States to a fellow-conspirator in the Far East, and describes the position in December, 1916:—

“From my last letters you have had an idea of the circumstances on this side. They are almost hopeless. Practically no work has been done, nor is there much chance of any in the near future. No one cares for the cause. To be leader or a prominent figure is the only motive. The Germans have lost faith in our cause. They no longer trust any of us. You know all of them work under express orders from home. Their present policy is to keep us in hand for possible future use, and those of us who are accredited to them as the leaders of our cause are always playing their game for a few hundred dollars now and

then, but I am not discouraged because I believe our case has not been properly put to them.”

HINDU-MAHOMEDAN CO-OPERATION

The second is from a long letter in Bengali found in a house-search in Chandernagore on 1st December, 1916. The writer has been, from the first, an important member of the revolutionary movement in Bengal, and his complicity in the Dalhousie Square bomb outrage has been established beyond doubt. Internal evidence showed that the letter was very recently written, and that it was addressed to a person of great authority in revolutionary circles :—

“Indian Mahomedans have awakened, but they incline towards pan-Islamism which is ruinous to our cause. They went to bring in Turkey and Afghanistan. It is quite probable that Germany has agreed to give India to Turkey and that this is the reason why she is not sticking to her agreement with us. We must see whether we cannot co-operate with Mahomedans on a common basis of Indian Nationalism. If that is not possible we must tactfully deceive them and persuade the Germans (if necessary with false evidence) that both parties are united and that we intend to establish a republic in which Mahomedan influence will predominate.”

GENERAL ACCOUNT

1907 TO 1917

BENGAL

POLITICAL DACOITIES AND MURDERS

The series of political dacoities and murders in Bengal, begun in 1907, still continues, the two main centres of conspiracy being what may be called the *Yugantar* gang of Calcutta, of which the Maniktolla society was an important branch, and the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca. The principal objects of these outrages are to obtain money for revolutionary purposes and to terrorise the public and the police. There is reason to believe that the proceeds of the dacoities are not credited to any central fund, and the organisation of the dacoity bands is purposely disconnected. What happens when a dacoity is contemplated is that parties of three or four men from several different centres are collected under one leader, but the members of one party do not know those of another, and sometimes not even all those of their own party, and are forbidden to enquire. The object is that if any of them is arrested he will be unable to give the others away even if he is willing to do so ; the system appears to be based on the methods of European revolutionaries (see page 185). Similarly when a murder is being arranged the youth selected is introduced by a friend to the person who gives the instructions and supplies the weapon, whether bomb or revolver, but remains in ignorance of his identity. The Defence of India Act of 1915 has at last provided the means of dealing with this class of crime ; during that year there were over 30 murders and dacoities in Bengal, next year the number dropped to just over 20, and in 1917, up till the end of October, there were only 5.

THE HALUDBARI DACOITY

In Bengal proper there were five political dacoities in 1908 ; in only two of them were convictions obtained, one being [318] the Morehal dacoity in which one of the dacoit's, who was wounded and caught by the villagers, was convicted. In 1909 out

of eight dacoities there were only two in which the prosecution was successful, the Nangla dacoity of 17th August, and the Haludbari [318] dacoity of 27th October. The latter was rather an interesting case. It was committed in the house of two Marwaris at Haludbari, P. S. Daulatpore, in the Nadia District. From the first house they removed Rs. 385 in cash and over 1,000 rupees worth of silver ornaments; in the second, which they robbed apparently by mistake for another, they found only some eleven rupees. The dacoits fired revolvers while searching the first house, and one of them, with a gun shouldered, marched up and down in front of the house to keep off the villagers. Some ten or twelve men took part, and shortly after leaving the village they divided into two bands, one going North towards Damukdia and the other towards the nearest railway station, Mirpur. The duffadar of Haludbari set out after the dacoits, and meantime sent a message to the Sub-Inspector of Mirpur by the hand of an old chowkidar; he made such good speed that the Sub-Inspector was ready on the platform, and arrested six young men who turned up at dawn with their clothes wet and their shoes covered with mud. In the possession of one of the dacoits were ten small packets which were found on examination to be fatal doses of cyanide of potassium done up in green rubber. The account given about these packets was that, before the commission of the dacoity, they were distributed to each man to take in the event of his being captured; when the party got away from the villagers and thought they were safe the pills were returned to the man who had distributed them. One of the youths who were caught made the best of his awkward position by admitting the whole thing, and another member of the gang arrested ten days later also made a full confession, but it appeared that they were ignorant of the identity of their accomplices who had escaped, and even among the six there were some who had not met before. After further enquiries ten persons were went up for trial, and seven were convicted, including the six who were caught at the time and had no defence.

[319] THE KHULNA-JESSORE GANG CASE

As it was practically impossible as a rule to obtain sufficient evidence to satisfy the courts in specific cases of dacoity, an attempt was made, where the evidence showed that several dacoities were the work of one gang, to prosecute the whole

gang for conspiracy, and rely on the cumulative effect of the information collected on different occasions implicating the same people. Two such prosecutions were instituted early in 1910, known as the Khulna-Jessore and the Howrah-Sibpur gang cases. Both were very lengthy proceedings; in the Khulna case 16 persons were committed for trial, and there were nearly 300 witnesses, and in the Howrah case there were 56 accused, of whom 46 were committed for trial, and over 400 witnesses. On April 1st, 1911, the accused in the Khulna-Jessore case were brought before a special bench of the High Court, presided over by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Chief Justice of Bengal; in consideration of their pleading guilty to the charges, and of their having been in prison under trial for eight months, they were released on their own recognizances to appear for sentence when called upon and to be of good behaviour and keep the peace. This was done at the suggestion of the Advocate-General, acting under instructions from the Government of Bengal; as the accused all pleaded guilty before the suggestion was made, it was clear that the course which was followed had been agreed upon between the prosecution and the defence.

THE HOWRAH-SIBPUR GANG CASE

In the Howrah-Sibpur case the judgment of the Special Tribunal was delivered by the Chief Justice on April 19th, 1911. Amongst other crimes laid to their charge was the Haludbari dacoity which has been already mentioned. Of 46 persons originally sent up one died, one became insane, and five were acquitted or discharged in the course of the hearing. Of the remaining 39 the Court acquitted 33, convicting only six men who had been already sentenced in the Haludbari case. As already mentioned two of them had exposed the working of the dacoity gang, and in passing sentence in the present case the court awarded an additional term of two years' rigorous imprisonment to these two, and only one year [320] each to the remaining four. The two had been previously sentenced to six years and the rest to seven years, so that the combined sentences now amounted to eight years each. Ever since the murder of Deputy Superintendent Shamsul Alam it had been the practice of the apologists of the revolutionary party in Bengal to suggest, both in court and out of it, that it was he who got up political cases and manufactured evidence, and that he was therefore justly removed. This view was evident-

ly strongly impressed on the Chief Justice in the Howrah-Sibpur case, and in the course of his judgment he remarked regarding one of the approvers, "He was not released till the 11th February, 1910, as he could not find sureties before, and then, instead of going to his own house, he went to Kali Babu, a Police Inspector of Uluberia, and told him he would like to confess. But, for a reason which has not been explained, the Inspector, instead of taking Jotin Hazra to a Magistrate to have his confession recorded, took him to Inspector Shamsul Alam and left Jotin with him. Jotin says he told all, and Shamsul wrote it down, but we have not yet been placed in possession of what was so recorded. On the 15th of February, 1910, he was arrested in this case, and he made a statement to Mr. Forrest on the 17th, two days later." The inference suggested was that he was tutored by the deceased Deputy Superintendent and then formally arrested and taken straight off to a magistrate to make his statement. But the facts, and therefore the inference based on them, were obviously incorrect; Shamsul Alam was shot in the verandah of the High Court, and died before the eyes of the Chief Justice himself on 24th January, 1910. Enquiries were made by the Special Department whether this was a mere verbal or clerical error in the judgement. The Legal Remembrancer was asked whether the printed copy could be taken as correct, especially in regard to this passage, and returned the letter of enquiry with the marginal note :— "The C. J. has corrected this. Please correct your copies." He also sent the Special Department a printed copy of the judgment with the passage altered in red ink. The passage as altered reads :— "He was not finally released till the 11th February, 1910, as he could not [320] find sureties before. Prior to the 17th of August, however, he had been temporarily released on bail in July, but instead of going to his own house, he went to Kali Babu, a Police Inspector, etc., etc." The amendment, while it corrects an obvious mistake of fact, destroys entirely the original meaning of the passage. Jotin Hazra did make to Shamsul Alam, in July, 1909, a statement which was of considerable value to the investigation of the case, but he was not arrested and taken to make his confession before a magistrate till 17th February, 1910. Clearly, therefore, this was not a case of tutoring the witness by a police officer and then [321] marching him straight off before a magistrate. If that had been the object the police would not have allowed Jotin seven months to forget what he had been told; nor can it even be said that Jotin was perhaps still under the

influence of Shamsul Alam on February 17th, 1910, as the Deputy Superintendent had been murdered over three weeks before.

HIGH COURT COMMENTS

The line taken by the prosecution did not commend itself to the Court, for in the course of his judgment the Chief Justice remarked, "In other instances completed offences, as for instance the Netra Dacoity, have not been made the subject of a separate trial, as they could and should have been, but they have been thrown into this case, and we have had to investigate them in this trial. It may be that this course was inspired by the idea that, though the evidence at the disposal of the prosecution was insufficient to secure a conviction for the crimes committed, it might serve to secure a conviction for a conspiracy, the proof of which really rested on the establishment of those crimes; there can hardly have been the hope that the Court would be willing to suppose much had been proved, merely because much had been said."

EFFECT ON THE POLICE

The decisions in these two cases were a heavy blow to the police; in the former they saw men, admittedly guilty against whom evidence had been collected with the greatest difficulty, released with no more serious punishment than a lecture from the Chief Justice; in the latter the sentences passed appeared to indicate that to make disclosure to [322] the police was regarded by the High Court as an aggravation of the offence. There may have been reasons of high policy behind both decisions, but these were unknown to the police to whom the time and labour spent had brought no commendation but only what was regarded by their friends and enemies alike as a severe reprimand. The only satisfactory feature was that, owing to the length of the cases, both gangs had been shut up for the best part of a year; and the police seem to have got hold of the right men, for while between April, 1909, there were in Bengal proper 10 dacoities, between April, 1910, and April, 1911 there was only one; even this one was apparently not committed by experts, for of the seven men who took part in it six were arrested and convicted. Though the cases failed, the fact that the police were on the right track seems to have been appreciated by the local leaders; they were kept under surveillance, and there were no more political dacoities in Bengal proper till 1914.

OUTRAGES IN EASTERN BENGAL

The new province was not so fortunate; between April, 1911, and April, 1912, there were 10 political dacoities and 6 political murders in Eastern Bengal. In April, 1912, the two provinces were re-united, and the figures for the following years for the part of Bengal formerly called Eastern Bengal were :—April, 1912, to April, 1913, 10 dacoities and 2 murders; 1913-14, 6 dacoities and 2 murders; 1914-15, 9 dacoities and 4 murders; 1915-16, 11 dacoities and 4 murders.

OUTRAGES IN BENGAL

The corresponding figures for Bengal proper were :—1914-15, outside Calcutta, one dacoity; in Calcutta 2 dacoities and 3 murders; 1915-16, outside Calcutta 7 dacoities and 2 murders; in Calcutta, 5 dacoities and 3 murders.

THE RAJENDRAPUR TRAIN DACOITY

The dacoities were all conducted on much the same lines, and two of them have been already described, the Barraah dacoity (see page 164), which was the first important one, and the Haludbari dacoity. One further example may be given, as it differed from the others and was executed with great determination and [323] ferocity. About 9 p.m. on October 11th, 1909, as two babus (Bengali clerks) and an up-country *durwan* (gatekeeper) were conveying Rs. 23,000 in cash by train from Narayanganj to Khoraid, they were set upon, after leaving Rajendrapur station, by 7 or 8 young *thadralog* Bengalis who had joined the train at Dacca. One of the babus named Rash Mohan Dutt jumped from the train when the attack commenced and was wounded by one of the dacoits as he was leaving the carriage; the other Hemendra Nath Chatterji, was severely stabbed, and the *durwan* was shot and stabbed and thrown out by the side of the line where he was found dead next morning. The attacking party collected all the money, which was in seven bags, five of Rs. 3,000 each and two of Rs. 4,000 each, and left the train as it was still in motion. Next morning one of the Rs. 3,000 bags was found near the dead body of the *durwan*, broken and containing Rs. 2,843, and two more of similar size were afterwards found in water near the same place. A fourth bag containing Rs. 3,000 was recovered two days later in a deep jungle near Rajendrapur. In another compartment of the same carriage there were five passengers who were able to see the whole affair. They made no attempt to interfere, and when the wounded babu went to them after the occurrence he

says 'still they asked each other "Who has assaulted? Who has robbed?"' Six persons were sent up for trial, but only one was convicted. Suresh Chandra Sen Gupta who was recognised by Rash Mohan Dutt and named by him at the time. He was a prominent member of the Madhyapara branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and this robbery may be fairly regarded as one of the enterprises of that society.

ASSASSINATION IN BENGAL

The list of assassinations and attempted assassinations in Bengal is a long one. In 1907 two or three attempts were made to wreck the special train of Sir Andrew Frasser, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the one made on December 6th, near Kharagpur, in the Midnapore District, was nearly successful as a hole five feet in diameter was blown in the permanent way, and one of the rails was bent; the train, however, was not derailed. A further attempt on the Lieutenant-Governor's life was made in November, [324] 1908, by a student who tried to shot him with a revolver at short range at a meeting in Calcutta; it failed as the revolver missed fire.

There was another attempted assassination at the end of 1907; Mr. B. C. Allen, I.C.S., who had just handed over charge of the office of District Magistrate of Dacca, was shot on the platform of Goalundo Station, and severely wounded. His assailants got away and were never brought to justice.

1908

Mention has already been made in Chapter V of the attempt to assassinate the Mayor of Chandernagore, and of the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy by mistake for Mr. Kingsford in April 1908, as well as of the murder in jail of Norendra Nath Gossain, the approver in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case in August. The next murder connected with the same case was that of Sub-Inspector Nando Lal Banerji, who was in Calcutta in November for his part in the arrest of Profulla Chaki, one of the Muzaffarpore assassins. In the same month Sukumar Chakravarti was murdered near Dacca in circumstances which indicated that the Anusilan Samiti (see page 165) had made away with him for their own protection.

1909

In February, 1909 another murder was committed in connection with the Maniktolla case; Ashutosh Biswas, the Public Prose-

cutor was shot dead in the compound of the Alipore Police Court as he was starting off home after the day's proceedings were over. In June a young Bengali named Preo Nath Chatterji was shot dead at his home in Faridpur district by mistake for his brother Gobesh who had given information to the police.

1910

In January, 1910, while the Maniktolla case being heard, Khan Bahadur Shamsul Alam, Deputy Superintendent of the Criminal Investigation Department, was shot dead in the verandah of the High Court, Calcutta, evidently on account of the prominent part he had played in the investigation and prosecution of the case. In September of the same year, at Dacca, Inspector Sarat Chandra Ghose of the Criminal Investigation Department was shot [325] by two young Bengalis and wounded in three places, but not killed. He was an important witness in the Dacca Conspiracy case, and the object was to prevent his giving his evidence which had not so far been recorded.

1911

In February, 1911, Head Constable Sirish Chandra Chakravarti was shot dead in Calcutta. He was a former member of the *Yugantar* gang who had given information to the police in 1908; as it proved to be true he was retained as an informer and afterwards enlisted as Head Constable. About a fortnight previously he had received an anonymous letter warning him that he would be shot. In March an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. G. C. Denham of the Criminal Investigation Department by throwing a bomb into a motor car as it entered Dalhousie Square, Calcutta, from Writers' Buildings; Mr. Denham was starting from Calcutta that day on leave to England, and had been a very prominent figure in the Maniktolla conspiracy and all the later political enquiries. The bomb was thrown into the wrong car and also failed to explode, but the would-be assassin was caught and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. In the Dacca District an important witness in two political cases was shot dead at Routbhog in April, and the Duffadar of Sonarang, his brother and a police informer were murdered in July. In June Sub-Inspector Rajkumar Roy of the Criminal Investigation Department was shot dead in Mymensingh, and in December the same fate befell Inspector Mon Mohan Ghose in Barisal. The former had taken

an active part in the search of the houses of members of a local Samiti four months before ; the latter was in possession of information regarding a dangerous organiser of political dacoities named Pandit Mokhoda Charan Samadhyaya who had just been arrested at Benares.

1912

In September, 1912, a Head Constable named Rati Lal Roy was shot dead in Dacca. He had been engaged in the enquiry into the Dacca Conspiracy Case from the very start, and on the conclusion of the case the Deputy Inspector-General in charge recorded the remark that his work and [326] his evidence had been of very material assistance in obtaining a conviction.

1913

In 1913 two informers were murdered, one at Comilla in January and the other at Dacca in November, and a bomb was thrown at an informer at Midnapore in December. In September Head Constable Haripada Deb was shot dead in Calcutta, and Inspector Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri killed by a bomb at his home in Mymensingh. The Head Constable had recently taken part in a number of house searches in connection with political cases, and the Inspector had been for a long time in Dacca where he assisted in the Dacca Conspiracy case and other political enquiries. In March of this year a Bengali, who was lying in wait outside the bungalow of Mr. Gordon, I.C.S., at Sylhet, was killed by the premature explosion of the bomb he was carrying.

1914

In January, 1914, Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose was shot dead in Sova Bazar, Calcutta, by Nirmal Kanta Roy who was pursued and caught. This man was formerly captain of the Manikganj branch of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca, and at the time of the murder he was connected with the gang known as the Raja Bazar gang (see page 328). He was tried and eventually acquitted, and the result was hailed by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as "a glorious vindication of the jury system." In June, at Chittagong, a man walking along with an informer was shot by mistake for him, and the following month at Dacca an informer was killed and a constable who tried to arrest the assassin wounded in the head. The man murdered at Dacca was formerly a political sus-

pect who had begun to give information to the police in January, 1914; he had been sent for to Dacca to help in the investigation of the Chittagong murder, and had just got into touch with his old associates when he was killed. In November, in Musalmanpara Lane, Calcutta, an attempt was made to murder Deputy Superintendent Basanta Kumar Chatterji with a bomb; a head constable was killed and two police orderlies seriously wounded. The Deputy Superintendent had taken a very prominent [327] part in political cases in which the Dacca gang was concerned, and an attempt had already been made to assassinate him at Dacca in the previous July. Shortly after the explosion a Bengali youth named Nagendra Nath Sen Gupta was found lying wounded in a neighbouring lane, with a fully loaded Webley revolver by his head. He was removed to hospital, and pieces of wire and other traces of the bomb were extracted from his person. He was acquitted by a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court; there was no getting over the fact that he had been wounded by the bomb, but it was held that he might have been an innocent passer-by and that the finding of the revolver had not been satisfactorily explained.

1915

1915 was a bad year. In Calcutta alone three police officers were assassinated and one wounded, and one man who was taken for a spy by a revolutionary gang into whose deliberations he had intruded was shot dead. At Rangpur in February an attempt was made to shoot the Bengali Additional Superintendent of Police, one of his orderlies being killed. Next month in Comilla the head master of the High School, who had taken the side of law and order, was murdered, and in August at Agarpara in the 24-Parganas District, a Bengali who had assisted the police was shot dead at his house. In October the Deputy Superintendent of Police at Mymensingh was killed, along with his son, a child of 3 years of age, and two months later an informer was murdered at Sasadighi in the same district.

1916

In 1916 two police officers were murdered in Calcutta, a Sub-Inspector in January, and Deputy Superintendent Basanta Kumar Chatterji in June. As already mentioned, two previous attempts had been made on the life of the Deputy Superintendent; on this

occasion he was shot dead by a band of young Bengalis armed with Mauser pistols. In January, at Noakhali, a student who was a candidate for employment in the police was shot dead, and in the same month a second informer was murdered at Sasadighi in Mymensingh District. At the end of the month the head master of the Malda District School was stabbed to death, [328] and in June at Dacca two head constables who were engaged in watching political suspects were shot dead with Mauser pistols.

THEFT OF MAUSER PISTOLS

In 1914 an incident occurred which had very serious consequences. On August 26th Messrs. Rodda and Co. of Calcutta sent one of their employees named Sirish Chandra Mitter to take delivery of a consignment of arms and ammunition from the Customs godown. The boxes were loaded on seven carts, six of which reached Messrs. Rodda's storehouse safely. Sirish Mitter, with the seventh cart, on which were boxes containing 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition, completely disappeared, and information was not given by the owners to the police for three days. Sirish Mitter was already a suspect; four months before his house had been searched in connection with a plot to murder two Europeans in Calcutta. As usual in such cases the police received no help from the general public in their enquiries; persons who must have seen what occurred at various places *en route* pleaded entire ignorance of the matter, and witnesses who had described participants in the crime to the police failed to identify them when they were shown to them before a magistrate. In September 1,040 rounds of the ammunition were discovered in a house in Wellington Street owned by a clerk in the office of the Accountant-General, Bengal, and on October 6th 960 were found in a house in the Marwari quarter of the town. Five days later 21,200 rounds were found at 34, Seo Thakur's Lane, thus accounting for over half the ammunition. The pistols, however, were successfully distributed and used in most of the succeeding outrages.

THE RAJA BAZAR CASE

Towards the end of 1913 a very important discovery was made in Calcutta. From fragments which had been found, or from an examination of the bombs themselves where they had failed to explode, it had been established that the bombs used

in various outrages, though not all exactly the same, showed a great similarity in construction and were in all probability the work of the same gang. The series began with the Dalhousie Square bomb of [329] March, 1911, and included bomb thrown at Midnapore in December, 1912, the bomb thrown later in the same month at the Viceroy in Delhi, a bomb which exploded at Maulvi Bazar in March, 1913, and killed the man who was carrying it, and the Lahore bomb of May, 1913. It became a matter of great moment to find out where these things were being made, and enquiries in Calcutta and at Maulvi Bazar in Sylhet district pointed to a room in 296/1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, in the locality known as Raja Bazar. The place was raided in the early hours of the morning of November 21st, 1913, and four persons were found in the room :

- (1) Amrita Lal Hazra, *alias* Sasanka Sekhar Roy.
- (2) Dinesh Chandra Das Gupta.
- (3) Chandra Sekhar Dey.
- (4) Sarada Charan Guha.

They were all Eastern Bengal men, three from Dacca and the last from Faridpur. Amrita Lal Hazra turned out to be a person already well-known to the police as a member of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca and later of the *Yugantar* gang of Calcutta, and had been named as taking part in four political dacoities. Chandra Sekhar Dey had been a resident member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and had been successfully prosecuted at Dacca under Section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Sarada Charan Guha had been a member of his local branch of the Anusilan Samiti and had been prosecuted in the Chaupalli dacoity case but acquitted. Papers found in the room indicated that two other persons were members of the same gang, Kalipada Ghose *alias* Upendra Lal Roy Chaudhuri, and Khagendra Nath Chaudhuri *alias* Suresh Chandra Chaudhuri, and both were shortly afterwards arrested; as the latter was acquitted nothing more need be said about him. Kali Pada Ghose at first could not be found, but on December 6th he was cleverly arrested by a Sub-Inspector of police as he was walking along College Street. When he was caught he hastily put his hand to his pocket and the Sub-Inspector had him searched at once in the presence of witnesses; he found in his possession ten copies of a leaflet headed "Liberty", the third issue of an extremely seditious [330] set of "Liberty" leaflets which had recently begun to appear both in the Punjab and in Bengal.

For a year prior to his arrest Kalipada had been employed as a compositor at the Lokenath Press, 26, Amherst Row, Calcutta; the press was searched and it was subsequently conclusively proved in court from a comparison of the type that the "Liberty" leaflets had been printed there. Close association between Kalipada Ghose and Amrita Lal Hazra was also proved in the case.

THE PREPARATION OF BOMBS

Among the articles found in the room in Raja Bazar where the four men were arrested was a tin of the kind used for tobacco or condensed milk, fitted with iron discs and clamps of precisely the pattern used in the bombs which have been mentioned above, another similar tin in a less advanced stage of construction but fitted with three discs, two tins without fittings, and a few spare clamps and discs in process of preparation. There were also a cipher list of 24 names, one of which was Dinesh and another Sasanka, a second cipher list of names and addresses, a cipher note-book, a revolutionary leaflet in Bengali and a certain amount of correspondence. The tin first mentioned was proved in court to be intended for a bomb. In filling bombs of this kind with picric acid it is necessary to take the precaution of protecting the metal in order to obviate the risk of forming an unstable explosive compound, and a tin of black lacquer suitable for this purpose was also found in the room. It was solemnly argued for the defence that it was used for painting bicycles; no doubt it could be, but this did not affect the point that it could also be used for coating the inside of the bomb.

RESULT OF THE TRIAL

In the end the four persons found in the room were convicted under the Explosive Substances Act in June, 1914; Amrita Lal Hazra was sentenced to 15 years' transportation and the others each to 10 years. Concurrent sentences of 10 years' transportation under section 120B, Indian Penal Code, were also passed on all four, with a similar sentence under the same section in the case of Kalipada Ghose. The accused appealed, and at the same [331] time the Government of Bengal moved the High Court against the acquittal of Khagendra Nath Chaudhuri and for an enhancement of the sentences passed; the High Court, however, took a different view of the case and upheld only the conviction of Amrita Lal Hazra. This was unfortunate, but the discoveries made in this enquiry led to important results in the elucidation

of the Delhi and Lahore bomb cases (see page 354). The next important event in the history of the Bengal revolutionaries is the German plot to import arms for their use of which an account is given in another chapter (see page 275).

BOMBAY

THE SURAT CONGRESS

At the end of 1907 the leading agitators of the Bombay Presidency, with a considerable following from other parts of India, made an attempt to force the Indian National Congress to accept their views. It is unnecessary to give here any general account of the Congress, as the proceedings are regularly published in the press and in the annual reports issued by the Congress itself. The twenty-third meeting of the Congress, which opened at Surat on 26th December, 1907, was however of special importance, for it was at this meeting that a definite and public cleavage took place between the Moderates and the Extremists, or Nationalists as they preferred to call themselves, and it was the fact that the latter were unable to control the policy of the Congress that was put forward by many of them as a justification of their resort to violence. After the proceedings were over the Moderates issued a press *communiqué* on December 27th, and the Extremists on December 31st; they are of course on many points contradictory, but where they agree the common version may be accepted. The split took place ostensibly over the election of the President, but really, as will appear later, over the general policy of the Congress.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

When the Congress met on December 26th, the Moderates say "over sixteen hundred delegates were present," while the Extremists state that [332] "there were about thirteen hundred and odd delegates at this time in the *pandal*, of whom over 600 were Nationalists, and the Moderates' majority was thus a bare majority." After the split took place only some 300 delegates attended the Extremist meeting, so it would appear that this estimate of their following in the Congress was exaggerated. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose having been proposed as President, the Chairman called upon Babu Surendranath Banerjea to second the motion, but he was not allowed by the Extremists even to start his speech, and the uproar was so great that the sitting was suspended for the

day. The leader of the Extremists was B. G. Tilak of Poona, and their object was to propose as President Lala Lajpatrai, who had been recently released from deportation (see page 23).

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

When the Congress met next day Tilak sent the following note to the Chairman by the hand of a "volunteer":—

SIR,

I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please announce me.

Yours Sincerely,

B. G. TILAK,

Deccan Delegate (Poona)

The Chairman received the note, and what followed is thus described in the *Moderate Communiqué*. "The Chairman considered a notice of adjournment at that stage to be irregular and out of order. The proceedings were then resumed at the point at which they had been interrupted yesterday, and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea was called upon to conclude his speech. Mr. Banerjea having done this, Chairman called upon Pandit Motilal Nehru of Allahabad to support the motion. The Pandit supported it in a brief speech and the Chairman put the motion to the vote. An overwhelming majority [333] of the delegates signified their assent by crying "all, all" and a small minority shouted "no, no". The Chairman thereupon declared the motion carried, and the Honourable Dr. Ghose was installed in the Presidential chair amidst loud and prolonged applause. While the applause was going on, and as Dr. Ghose rose to begin his address, Mr. Tilak came upon the platform, and stood in front of the President. He urged that as he had given notice of an "amendment to the Presidential election," he should be permitted to move his amendment. Thereupon it was pointed out to him by Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, that his notice was not for "an amendment to the Presidential election," but it was for "an adjournment of the Congress," which notice he had considered to be irregular and out of order at that stage; and that the President having been duly installed in the chair no amendment about his election could be then moved. Mr. Tilak then turned to the President and began arguing with him. Dr. Ghose, in his turn, stated how matters stood,

and ruled that his request to move an amendment about the election could not be entertained. Mr. Tilak thereupon said, "I will not submit to this. I will now appeal from the President to the delegates." In the meantime an uproar had already been commenced by some of his followers, and the president who tried to read his address could not be heard even by those who were seated next to him. Mr. Tilak, with his back to the President, kept shouting that he insisted on moving his amendment, and he would not allow the proceedings to go on. The President repeatedly appealed to him to be satisfied with his protest and to resume his seat. Mr. Tilak kept on shouting frantically exclaiming that he would not go back to his seat unless he was "bodily removed." This persistent defiance of the authority of the chair provoked a hostile demonstration against Mr. Tilak himself, and for some time nothing but loud cries of "Shame, Shame," could be heard in the Pandal. It had been noticed that, when Mr. Tilak was making his way to the platform, some of his followers were also trying to force themselves through the volunteers to the platform with sticks in their hands. All attempts on [334] the President's part either to proceed with the reading of his address or to persuade Mr. Tilak to resume his seat having failed, and a general movement among Mr. Tilak's followers to rush the platform with sticks in their hands being noticed, the President, for the last time, called upon Mr. Tilak to withdraw, and formally announced to the assembly that he had ruled and he still ruled Mr. Tilak out of order and he called upon him to resume his seat. Mr. Tilak refused to obey, and at this time a shoe hurled from the body of the Hall struck both Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, who were sitting side by side. Chairs were also hurled towards the platform, and it was seen that Mr. Tilak's followers who were brandishing their sticks wildly were trying to rush the platform which other delegates were endeavouring to prevent. It should be stated here that some of the delegates were so exasperated by Mr. Tilak's conduct that they repeatedly asked for permission to eject him bodily from the Hall; but this permission was steadily refused. The President, finding that the disorder went on growing and that he had no other course open to him, declared the session of the 23rd Indian National Congress suspended *sine die*. After the lady-delegates present on the platform had been escorted to the tents outside the other delegates began

with difficulty to disperse, but, the disorder having grown wilder, the police eventually came in and ordered the Hall to be cleared."

THE EXTREMIST VERSION

The Extremists maintain that Tilak got up to make his amendment immediately after Surendranath Banerjea had finished speaking, and deny that Dr. Ghosh was duly elected amidst loud and prolonged applause. 'All this', they say, "if it did take place, as alleged, could only have been done in a deliberately hurried manner with a set purpose to trick Mr. Tilak out of his right to address the Delegates and move an amendment as previously notified". They also state regarding the attitude of Tilak's followers, "Chairs were now seen being lifted to be thrown at Mr. Tilak by persons on and below the platform, and some of the Nationalists, therefore, rushed on to the platform to his rescue."

FAILURE TO COMPROMISE

[335] Although Dr. Ghose's speech was never delivered it was published in the Calcutta press, and telegrams received on the evening of December 27th by the Extremists in Surat showed, according to them, "that he had made an offensive attack on the Nationalist party therein." This diminished any chance of a compromise, but next morning Tilak gave a delegation of the Moderates the following assurance in writing, which states very succinctly the points of difference between the parties.

Surat, 28th December, 1907.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to our conversation, and principally in the best interests of the Congress, I and my party are prepared to waive our opposition to the election of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose as President of 23rd Indian National Congress, and are prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive provided, *firstly*, the last year's resolution on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education are adhered to and each expressly reaffirmed, and *secondly*, such passages if any, in Dr. Ghose's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalist Party are omitted."

Yours, etc.
B. G. TILAK.

THE SWARAJ RESOLUTIONS

The most important difference related to the drafting of the Swaraj or Self-Government resolution, and to show what it amounted to the resolution passed the previous year in Calcutta, and the draft resolution at Surat, are printed side by side:—

Resolution passed at Calcutta;
1906.

That this Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India, and that, as steps leading to it, urges that the following should be [336] immediately carried out. (Here followed certain administrative reforms such as simultaneous examinations in England and India, and the reform of Executive and Legislative Councils, and of Local and Municipal Boards.)

Draft Resolution at Surat,
1907.

“The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire, and a participation by her in the privileges and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with the other members; and it seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and improving the condition of the mass of the people.”

“Those who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress shall be members of the Provincial Committee.”

“All who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress... shall be entitled to become members of a District Congress Committee.”

“From the year 1908, delegates to the Congress shall be elected by Provincial and District Congress Committees only.”

SEPARATE MEETINGS

After the adjournment of the Congress the parties held separate meetings. The most important leaders on the Moderate side were Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the late Sir Pheroze shah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjea, and the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale; curiously enough Lala Lajpatrai, whose proposed election as President was the nominal source of all the trouble, joined the

Moderate camp. On the other side Arabindo Ghose presided at the meeting of the Extremists held on December 28th, and the most prominent person there were B. G. Tilak and G. S. Khaparde; it is significant that at this meeting, in the absence of Lala Lajpatrai, special honour was paid to the other Punjab deportee, Ajit Singh, who was publicly presented by Tilak with an embroidered cap.

POLICY OF THE BOMB

It is clear from the *Swaraj* resolution quoted above the question which really divided the Congress was whether the agitation for Self-Government was to proceed on [337] constitutional lines or not; but the importance of this incident at Surat from the point of view of revolution and sedition is that it was taken by the revolutionary leaders as the signal to begin the campaign of violence. If the "swetes" letter sent by Barin Ghose to his brother Arabindo Ghose on December 27th, 1907 (see page 149) be accepted as genuine this point needs no further elaboration; Arabindo Ghose's own words in the leading article "New Condition," published on the day of the first revolutionary assassination (see page 86), leaves the matter in little doubt, and is itself a confirmation of the genuineness of the letter. The argument of the Bengal revolutionaries that the policy of the bomb was adopted because their attempt to control the Congress at Surat was a failure is, however, demonstrably false, it is completely refuted by the single fact that they sent Hem Chandra Das to Paris to learn how to make bombs over a year before this eventful meeting of the Congress took place.

THE POONA BRAHMINS

If a list of the leading agitators of the West of India were made out it would be found that the great majority were Brahmins belonging to Poona and the neighbourhood; of these there are two main classes, the Kankanasth or Chitpawan Brahmins, who trace their origin from the Konkan, the strip of low country between the Western Ghats and the sea, and the Deshasth Brahmins, who belong to the plateau of the Deccan which slopes eastward from the Ghats. B. G. Tilak and most of his prominent followers belong to the former caste, which consequently had a bad reputation for loyalty, but, as in many similar cases, it would be a mistake to brand as disaffected a whole community to which some of the most able and loyal servants of Gov-

ernment belong, the Poona Brahmins are at least the equals of any other Indian community in education and intelligence; it is therefore not surprising to find that they are very advanced in their political views. Though many of them have clearly expressed themselves in favour of turning out the British Government, the real leaders do not seem to have approved of the immediate resort to violence; even Tilak, who apologised for the revolutionaries [338] of Bengal (see page 96), is believed to have considered their proceedings premature, and, in short, although many of them are in favour of revolution, they, as practical men, refuse their support to methods which do not appear to promise success. This perhaps partly explains why, while the Poona Brahmins may be fairly regarded as the brain centre of the revolutionary movement, the number of revolutionary outrages in the Presidency has been comparatively small; at the same time the firmness with which both the Government and the High Court of Bombay dealt with revolutionary agitation and violence, for instance in the Nasik Conspiracy case, and in the conviction and removal from the scene for six years of Tilak himself, doubtless had its effect in moulding the opinions of the older men and restraining the impetuosity of youth.

EXPLOSIONS IN POONA

The rank and file, however, went further than their leaders, and in 1908 there was a good deal of experimenting with explosives in Poona. On the 16th of May an explosion took place at No. 32, Shanwar Peth, which damaged the roof and blew a door off its hinges; and similar explosions occurred in Somwar Peth on June 28th, and in the early hours of the morning of July 11th in Sidashiv Peth, without doing much damage; in all three cases some connection with seditious agitation was discovered.

RIOT AT PANDHARPUR

Reference has already been made to the riots in Bombay in July, 1908, in connection with Tilak's trial for sedition. A similar disturbance took place at Pandharpur, in the Sholapur District, a place of frequent pilgrimage for Brahmins of the neighbouring districts of Poona and Satara. On July 28th a meeting of some 20 or 30 persons was held in the shop of Balu Mhamane, a Lingayat by caste, and it was at first resolved to attack the telegraph office and cut the wires in order to show disapproval

of Tilak's sentence. Subsequently, however, it was decided to attack the Mission House, as this was considered safer. Accordingly on the 29th, at 3 p.m., a band of about 30 or 40 rioters, headed by Digambar More, Gowli by caste, a professional athlete [339] proceeded to the Mission House and assaulted with sticks and stones Miss Steele of the Poona Indian Village Mission, dangerously wounding her; they also broke the windows of the house with stones. After the assault the mob ran back towards Pandharpur playing football with Miss Steele's *topi* and shouting "Tilak Maharaj ki Jai" (Victory to Tilak Maharaj).

In the town of Barsi, the railway junction for Pandharpur, four placards were found posted up on the same day, to the following effect:

READ, MAKE HASTE

Bande Mataram

Beloved B. G. Tilak ki jai

"The public are informed that an attempt will be made to throw bombs on the Barsi Light Railway trains, therefore they should not travel by the trains and should not send goods, for a jewel of India has been confined in jail and has been awarded a terrible sentence."

For their part in the riot 26 persons were prosecuted; one was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment, ten to 2 years, to which in some cases fines were added, and eight boys to 12 stripes each; the remaining seven were discharged.

THE AHMEDABAD BOMBS

The important conspiracies discovered in 1909 at Nasik and Gwalior have been already described (see page 184). At Ahmedabad, on November 13th of the same year, as Their Excellencies the Victory and Lady Minto were driving to the Rani Sipri Mosque, two missiles were thrown at the carriage at a place outside the city wall between the Sarangpur and the Rairpur Gate. The first struck the sergeant of the escort, who was riding on the left of the carriage, and fell to the ground; the second struck the wrist of the *Chobdar*, who was in the rumble holding up a large umbrella, and also fell on to the road. After the party had arrived at the mosque, where a halt was made as arranged, news was brought of an explosion, and on enquiry a sweeper was found, in the vicinity of [340] the spot where the

missiles were thrown, lying insensible with his hand and fore-arm shattered; near him were fragments of a bomb, as well as another evidently similar bomb unexploded.

NARAYAN SAVARKAR

A reward was offered for the discovery of the perpetrator of this outrage but he was never found. Both Lady Minto and Mr. Barrow, Commissioner of the Northern Division, who were seated with their backs to the horses, caught a glimpse of the youth who they thought threw the bombs. Some suspicion fell upon Narayan Savarkar, the youngest of the Savarkar brothers of Nasik and enquiries were made regarding his whereabouts at the time; as his explanation was not satisfactory he was paraded for identification, along with a number of other youths, before Mr. Barrow, who rejected all except Narayan and one other finally fixing on the other who turned out to be a police recruit. Narayan's photograph was afterwards shown to Lady Minto who expressed herself satisfied that he was not the boy who threw the bombs.

MINOR CONSPIRACIES

During 1910 three seditious conspiracies of minor importance came to light, known as the East Khandesh, Sholapur and Aundh conspiracies. The second of these was discovered at Pandharpur, the place where the missionary lady was assaulted in 1908; the members of the conspiracy were described as a very insignificant lot of youths, and the District Magistrate remarked regarding them "These youths would seem to have had no definite purpose, though their ideas were revolutionary. They were without funds, as they had to pilfer the material they used in the bombs, and the prices they gave for the "arms" which they collected did not exceed a few annas". In the Aundh conspiracy, which was hatched in the Native State of that name, three persons were mainly concerned; they were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment of 8, 5 and 3½ years respectively. These cases, though of considerable local importance, were off the main line of revolutionary conspiracy; at the same time they indicated that a good deal of underground plotting was going on.

[341] SEDITIOUS LEAFLETS

During the next two years things were very quiet; the usual Shivaji and Ganpati celebrations were held by the Nationalist

Party, but in the absence of B. G. Tilak they became lukewarm in character, and the Ganpati festival began to resume its religious aspect. In July, 1913, an attempt was made to stir up trouble in the Deccan by the issue from Poona of a series of revolutionary leaflets in the Marathi language. Two were "Liberty" leaflets of the usual type, one of which concluded with verses purporting to be Shivaji's exhortation to his followers to grasp the sword *Bhawani*, slay the foreigners and liberate themselves from slavery. Another was headed "Victory to the Martyrs of the War of Independence of 1857"; it was a translation of seditious English leaflet called "Oh Martyrs" which came out from England about five years before. There were sixteen leaflets in all, including a translation of the statement of Madan Lal Dhingra (see page 179), a song in praise of Anant Lakshman Kanhere, the Nasik murderer, and essays on gunpowder, gun-cotton, and nitro-glycerine, with an account of "an easy process for making bombs."

ARREST OF THE GANG

The source of these documents, which were distributed in the colleges and schools of Poona, as well as by post, was not ascertained for some time, but eventually suspicion fell on a Maratha named S. T. Sarve, who was employed in a newspaper office in Poona City. After the fourth issue of the Liberty leaflets had appeared Sarve's room was searched on September 23rd, 1914, as well as that of a Brahmin youth named H. R. Desai who, as agent for the sale of soap and stationery, was frequent visitor at colleges and schools. In addition to several copies of each of the 16 leaflets, photographs of revolutionaries and persons convicted of sedition, and a mass of manuscript and printed matter, the police seized several hundred copies of the new "Liberty" leaflet, 100 addressed envelopes containing copies, and the set-up type of the last page. The manuscript of the first page of this document was in the handwriting of one K. R. Sumant, an astrologer by profession, who was known to have associated with the extremists for several years, and he also was arrested and [342] prosecuted; in consequence of these discoveries the series of Liberty leaflets in Poona came to an end.

RELEASE OF B. G. TILAK

On 17th June, 1914, B. G. Tilak was released in Poona; this was a few days earlier than was generally expected and there was no organised demonstration. Congratulatory meetings were held

by his followers and admirers in the Bombay Presidency, and in the usual centres of agitation all over India, but the proceedings were as a rule sober and restrained. Some months afterwards he was interviewed by an officer of the Criminal Intelligence Department; the following is a *resumé* of the opinions he then expressed regarding the party of violence. He did not think that the anarchists had any big organisation or any definite goal. Public opinion did not support them, and Indian leaders had no control over them. Anarchism arose from a feeling of hopelessness, from bad treatment of Indians by Europeans, and from wrong political ideas. A shallow system of education, the general poverty of the people, the high-handedness of the police, the apathy of Government and a policy of injustice were causes which contributed to its growth. A more practical system of education, better treatment of Indians by Europeans, the improvement of the police and a policy of deference to public opinion might counteract it. Personally Mr. Tilak disapproved of anarchism and had never advocated a policy of violence. As an honest member of the opposition party he had exposed and criticized strongly the faults of the administration, and tried to create a public opinion and an agitation opposed to them. He might not have given them credit openly for the many benefits conferred by them, but that was not expected from a member of the opposition. After thirty years' study he had arrived at certain principles for the better government of India; until these had been tried and proved right or wrong he would continue to hold that the administration was faulty. With a certain amount of supervision, which should be gradually decreased, Indians were capable of governing their own country much better than foreign officials could. In conclusion he praised the Bengal politicians for their uncompromising attitude towards Government, and found fault with the Bombay [343] moderates who were always consulting officials and moulding their opinions accordingly, with the result that agitations lost all their force.

TILAK BOUND OVER

Shortly after his release it was rumoured among Tilak's friends that he intended to resume political agitation as soon as he had had time to study the history of the six years during which he was confined in Mandalay. The rumours proved to be correct, and in 1916 he went on a lecturing tour in the Maratha country in the interests of the new Home Rule movement,

delivering speeches in the Marathi language very much in his old style. Three of them were particularly objectionable, one delivered at Belgaum on May 1st, and two at Ahmednagar on May 31st and June 1st. Proceedings were accordingly taken in respect of these speeches under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, and on 12th August, 1916, he was bound over by the District Magistrate of Poona in a bond of Rs. 20,000, with two sureties of Rs. 10,000 each, to be of good behaviour for the period of one year

ORDER SET ASIDE BY THE HIGH COURT

The case was taken in revision to the High Court of Bombay, and in November, 1916, the Magistrate's order was set aside. In the course of his judgment Sir Stanley Batchelor, referring to the probable effect of the speeches, said :—

“Probably the fairest way to ascertain that effect is to read the three speeches from beginning to end quietly and attentively, remembering the arguments, and remembering the politically ignorant audience whom Mr. Tilak was addressing. I have so read these speeches not once, but several times, and the impression left on my mind is that on the whole, despite certain passages which are rightly objected to by the prosecution, the general effect would not naturally and probably be to cause disaffection, that is, hostility or enmity or contempt, but rather to create a feeling of disapprobation of the Government, for that it delays the transference of political power to the hands of those whom the speaker designates as “the people”. For this conclusion I can only appeal [344] to the general purport of all the three speeches as a whole.”

THE OBJECTIONABLE PASSAGES

In regard to the passages pointed out by the prosecution he observed :—

“There are two or three passages which, undoubtedly, as they stand, are to my mind impossible of justification. Nor has Mr. Tilak's learned counsel made any substantial or successful attempt to justify them. If these passages stood alone, or if I could bring myself to think that they fairly reflected the speaker's general meaning, I should feel bound to confirm the Magistrate's order.” * * * * “In my mind the only real difficulty in this case has been to decide whether these passages alone can properly be used as affording a sufficient ground for the learned

Magistrate's order. Upon the best consideration that I can give to this difficult question, and having regard to the whole tenor of the speeches, I think that the answer should be in the applicant's favour. I think so, not because these passages in themselves can be justified, but because their obvious objectionableness is somewhat mitigated by the contexts of the arguments in which they occur, and because I don't regard them as fairly characterising the general effect of the speeches as a whole. There is no reason to think that, in these long speeches delivered orally, these particular passages, which occupy no specially prominent place in the addresses, would specially impress themselves on the minds of the audience so as to override the general effect."

THE ATTACK ON THE BUREAUCRACY

One of the arguments for the defence was that Tilak's attacks were directed not against the Government but against the Civil Service, or the "bureaucracy" as Tilak, using the English word, preferred to call it, and that this was not in law seditious. In disposing of this point Sir Stanley Batchelor said, "That, I think, is not quite so in fact. But assuming it to be so, it affords no answer to the charge, for the Government established by law acts through a human agency, and admittedly the Civil Service is its principal agency for the administration of the country in times of peace. [345] Therefore where, as here, you criticise the Civil Service *en bloc*, the question whether you excite disaffection against Government or not seems to me a pure question of fact. You do so if the natural effect of your words, infusing hatred of the Civil Services, is also to infuse hatred or contempt of the established Government whose accredited agent the Civil Service is. You avoid doing so if, preferring appropriate language of moderation, you use words which do not naturally excite such hatred of Government. It is, I think, a mere question of fact."

Mr. Justice Shah concurred, and the conclusion of the whole matter was that though Mr. Tilak's speeches were bad in places they were not to be wholly condemned on that account.

COMMENTS BY TILAK

The result was of course hailed as a great victory by the Home Rule party, and Tilak himself went on a short of triumphal tour to Dharwar and other districts. The following passages

from a speech delivered by him at Akola, in the Central Provinces, on 11th January, 1917, indicate the line he took :—

“Since Home Rules was an ideal vindicated by the courts of law as legal and loyal, it must be proved by arguments that India stood in immediate need of it, that India should demand it, and that the demand was justified by defects in the working of the existing form of government which could not be remedied except by self-government, and that they were fit to receive and handle the rights of Swaraj when they came to them. In justifying Swaraj and pointing out the defects of the present system of Government one had to use hard arguments and language which—taking the subject matter into consideration—could not be soft. In certain quarters this was resented; their opponents said : “Ask for your Home Rule as much as you like, but you must not criticise the bureaucracy; that creates discontent”. “This was asking them to achieve an impossibility; it was as if you asked a man to eat fruit without biting it. To ask them to do so was only another way of preventing them from eating the fruit. How could the demand for Home Rule be justified [346] without showing that there were defects in the present working of the Government which were incurable without Home Rule in India? And how could those defects be shown except by irrefutable arguments which hit hard? Luckily the question had been solved for them by the Bombay High Court, and it was now pronounced that criticising the visible machinery of the Government was not sedition; that an angry word, a hard expression, an indiscrete phrase might have been employed without meaning the least harm.”

THE PUNJAB

THE ARYA SAMAJ

The events of 1907 which have been described in Chapter II brought prominently to notice the society called the Arya Samaj, and the question was much debated whether it was not using religion and social reform merely as a cloak for agitation of a seditious character. For years many of the most active members of the society had been engaging in political work, and it was not until matters came to a crisis that any attempt was made by the leaders to dissociate the society from politics. Immediately after the deportation of Lajpatrai, who was a prominent member of the managing committee of the society, an application was made by Lala Hans Raj (see page 348) to the Lieutenant-

Governor of the Punjab for an interview, which took place on May 22nd. On this occasion, according to the account published in the *Tribune*, Lala Hans Raj assured Sir Denzil Ibbetson that the Arya Samajists, as a body, had nothing to do with the late disturbances, that the Samaj was an organization which had for its sole object the religious and educational advancement of its members, and that at the time of the last disturbance in Lahore the College was closed and he firmly believed the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College boys had no hand in it. His Honour said he was pleased to receive this assurance, but he had been informed by every Deputy Commissioner in the Province that wherever there was an Arya Samaj it was the centre of seditious talk. Lala Hans Raj replied that unfortunately the Arya Samaj was at variance with other religions, all of which it freely criticised hence [347] it was very much maligned and wrongly credited with what it had not done or said. Immediately after this interview the following letter was published in several Punjab papers :

"THE ARYA SAMAJ"

"Sir, -I shall feel obliged by your kindly publishing in your paper the following resolution passed in a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Arya Pradeshak Pratinidhi Sabha (Arya Provincial Assembly) held on the 23rd May, 1907. The Sabha has about 95 Arya Samajes affiliated to it.

"Resolved that the Arya Samaj has always been, and is, a non-political body, and this fact the Arya Samaj has publicly declared in speeches, and expressed in writings, but as some mischievous people have now here and there spread rumours to the contrary, this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Arya Pradeshak Pratinidhi Sabha takes this opportunity to reiterate its old creed and declares that it has no connection of any kind with any political body or with any political agitation in any shape.

May 27.

Yours, etc
HANS RAJ,
*President, Arya Pradeshak
 Pratinidhi Sabha*

THE FOUNDER OF THE ARYA SAMAJ

The Arya Samaj is a Hindu revivalist body which represents the reaction of Hinduism against the Christian religion,

Western science, and Western domination. The original name of the founder was Mulchand, and he was born about 1824, the son of Gujerati Brahmin of Kathiawar. He became a *sanyasi* (religious devotee) at the early age of 24, and at this stage, as the custom is, he dropped his own name and adopted the name of Dayanand; he is generally known as Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He started his career as a preacher about 1863 and visited [348] many cities of Northern and Western India, maintaining in public religious discussions the contention that the Vedas inculcated monotheism and did not countenance idolatry, and condemning in unmeasured terms the Hinduism which is based upon the Puranas. He entered into public discussions with Christian, Mahomedan and Jain teachers, maintaining the superiority of the Vedic faith over all other religions, and in consequence he made for himself many enemies. Among other places he visited Bombay where he made the acquaintance of Shyamaji Krishnavarma, the notorious editor of the *Indian Sociologist* to whom he gave lessons in Sanskrit (see page 170). In April, 1877, Swami Dayanand came to Lahore, and on the 26th of the following June the Lahore Arya Samaj was founded. He died at Ajmer on the 30th October, 1883, having been poisoned, his followers alleged, by some of the enemies whom his religious zeal had raised up against him.

THE D. A. V. COLLEGE AND SCHOOL

The new society had to face much opposition; the orthodox Hindus, and especially the Brahmins, were its determined enemies, and the followers of other religions did not look upon it with favour. It was not until after the death of its founder that the first step of practical importance was taken by the society. At a public meeting held in Lahore in 1885 it was decided to perpetuate his memory by establishing an institution to be called the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, and as part of this scheme the Anglo-Vedic High School was opened in June, 1886; two years later the College itself was started under the Principalship of Lala Hans Raj, the signatory of the letter quoted above.

THE ARYA SAMAJ AND POLITICS

Attention was drawn to the political side of the Society in 1895 by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, who noted regarding the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College that those who worked it were inspired

by a strong enthusiasm, and the institution was wonderfully successful. Two years later Sir Mackworth Young, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in a letter to Lord [349] Elgin regarding the growth of discontent in the province, after referring to the part played by newspaper editors and unsuccessful pleaders, remarked :—

“I am aware that there are other agencies at work besides the Press which may tend to a combination against Government. The various associations from the Congress downwards which have for their ostensible object the promulgation of political or religious creeds, are, in not a few cases, dominated by persons hostile to the British Government; and the programme of these societies demands in many cases a reversal of the policy of Government both in regard to political and religious matters. The most active and at the same time the most dangerous of these Societies in the Punjab is the Arya Samaj. Its original purpose was the reconstruction of Hinduism in a form which would stand the light of modern criticism, but its supporters found that the subject was above the heads of the common people and so they have raised the standard of opposition to kine-killing in order to get a hearing. This Samaj has undoubtedly been responsible to a large extent for the embitterment of feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans which has sprung up of late years, and though there are many servants of Government in its ranks its general tendency is disloyal.”

DISLOYAL SPEECHES

In about the year 1899 that open disloyalty began to characterise the public speeches of leading Aryas, and in that year Pundit Ram Bhaj Dutt and Munshi Ram Vakil, who preached at Gujrat, Sialkot and Gujranwala with the ostensible object of collecting money for a *Gurukul* (Hindu religious school), spoke strongly against Government and said amongst other things that sepoys were foolish enough to enlist on seven or eight rupees a month to be killed, but after being taught in the *Gurukul* they would know better. Similar language was used again by Munshi Ram in 1903 in lectures delivered at Jhang in the same connection. In short there is no doubt that before the deportation of Lala Lajpatrai in 1907 a great deal of sedition was talked at meetings of the Arya Samaj, prominent Arya Samajists took a leading part individually in local movements of an anti-Govern-

ment character, [350] and even some of the paid preachers of Arya Samaj made, in the course of their lectures, speeches bordering on sedition, and advocated a crude form of nationalism based on race-hatred and fanaticism. After the deportation, as has been seen above, the society took steps to repudiate all connection with political agitation, and the governing body is known to have followed this up by exercising a restraining influence over its preachers when they were inclined to go too far. At the same time as the Arya Samaj is the most advanced body in the Punjab in matters of social, educational and religious reform, it is not unnatural that its members should take up, as they continue to do, an advanced position on political questions.

SEDITIONOUS LITERATURE

After a period of comparative quiet during the two years following the deportation of Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh, the peace of the Province was again disturbed in 1909 by the issue from Lahore of a flood of seditious literature in the form of books and pamphlets in the vernacular. Two agencies were mainly responsible for their production and distribution, the first controlled by a certain Lal Chand, who was something of a poet and adopted the soaring soubriquet of Falak, which means "The Sky", and the second by Ajit Singh, the deportee, his two brothers Kishen Singh and Sowaran Singh, and Amba Parshad. The record of Lal Chand Falak, a young man of 26, was not good; he had taken a prominent part in the agitation in 1907, and was convicted in connection with the Lahore riot (see page 22) but acquitted in appeal. Amba Parshad's record was a good deal worse. He was about 44 years of age, and came from Moradabad in the United Provinces. In 1897 he was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for sedition, and in 1901 he was convicted of defamation, intimidation and using as genuine a forged document, in consequence of which he remained in jail till the 10th of February, 1907. He then went to Lahore, and like Lal Chand Falak he was a member of Ajit Singh's seditious society, the *Anjuman-i-Muhibban-i-Watan* (Society of lovers of the country). He was a very capable writer in Urdu, and was responsible for most of the books and pamphlets which Ajit [351] Singh and his brothers distributed. Kishen Singh was convicted in the Lahore riot case of 1907 and only released in June, 1909.

Lal Chand Falak was first in the field; he called his place of business the Bande Mataram Book Agency and began quietly by publishing pamphlets containing collections of lectures and speeches by the following celebrities, Har Dayal, Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. G. K. Gokhale and His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. Shortly after this Ajit Singh and Amba Parshad hit upon the scheme of publishing translations from works by English writers, and ransacked the public library at Lahore in search of suitable volumes. In this way they came across a book entitled "Colonisation and Christianity" by a certain William Howitt (London, 1838), which is a catalogue of the misdeeds committed under cover of Christianity in all parts of the world, and they published the portion relating to India under the title "Divine and Conquer." This was done into Urdu by Amba Parshad and issued as a pamphlet called *Bandar Bant* (The Monkey's Arbitration), the implication being that the English, like the monkey in the fable, while pretending to arbitrate between contending parties in India appropriated the subject of dispute. Another pamphlet with a similar figurative title was *Ungli pakarte pahuncha pakra* (Grasping a finger, grasp the whole hand) which conveyed the suggestion that the English, if you give them an inch, will take an ell. One of Amba Parshad's favourite subjects was treated in the pamphlet *Baghi Masih* (Christ the Rebel) in which he argued that Jesus Christ was prosecuted not for blasphemy against the Jewish religion but for sedition against the government of Rome. Altogether about a score of these volumes were issued, and they commanded a ready sale as they were well written and sufficiently spicy to tickle the palate of the Lahore public.

PROSECUTION FOR SEDITION

The two agencies headed by Ajit Singh and Lal Chand Falak worked together; they sold each other's publications, and there was nothing to choose between them in regard to the seditious nature of their productions. [352] In November, 1909, proceedings were taken against all the five persons mentioned above, but Ajit Singh and Amba Parshad succeeded in absconding to Persia, and the cases against Sowaran Singh were withdrawn on account of an illness of which he died in the following year. In March, 1910, Lal Chand Falak and Kishen Singh were convicted in respect of seven pamphlets which either or both were proved to

have published or sold, and the former was sentenced to terms of imprisonment aggregating four years and the latter to ten months. Another notorious editor of sedition named Nand Gopal, who had taken up this undoubtedly profitable line by publishing a pamphlet entitled *Qaumi Islah* (National Improvement), was sentenced at the same time to five year's transportation. Proceedings were also taken against editors of seditious newspapers, and the following sentences were passed :—Zia-ul-haq, for an article in the *Peshwa*, to which Amba Parshad regularly contributed, five years; Ishri Parshad, for an article in the *Bedari*, three years; Munshi Ram, for an article in the *Sahayak*, seven years. The case against Ganeshi Lal in respect of an article in the *Akash* was withdrawn on his tendering an apology. In 1917 Lal Chand Falak returned again to the same evil courses, he was arrested in April and sentenced in June to transportation for life for sedition, the sentence being afterwards reduced to ten years.

PROFESSOR BHAI PARMANAND

Amongst the places searched in November, 1909, in connection with these proceedings was the *Bharat Mata* (Mother India) Book Agency, where the pamphlets prepared by Ajit Singh's party were published. Ajit Singh and Amba Parshad lived here before they absconded, and at the time of the search the premises were in the occupation of Ajit Singh's two brothers and Bhai Parmanand, M.A., a professor in the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, the Arya Samaj institution in Lahore. Parmanand, who is a native of the Jhelum District born about 1875, was educated at this College and was employed for some years as an itinerant lecturer of the Arya Samaj. When the search was made a box belonging to Professor Parmanand was examined, and in it was found a copy of the celebrated manual of explosives (see page 61) [353] with some manuscripts relating to seditious and revolutionary schemes. There were also a few old letters written by Lajpatrai (see page 23) to Parmanand in 1907, when the latter was in London studying history at King's College, in which Lajpatrai asked him to procure certain books on socialistic and revolutionary subjects. The genuineness of these letters (in one of which Lajpatrai expressed fear lest the outbreak in the Punjab might be premature) was never contested, but Lajpatrai attempted in the press to explain away their obvious meaning. It is not

clear why Parmanand should have kept letters of this kind for over two years, but conspirators rarely trust each other and he may have retained them in order to have hold over Lajpatrai. On the 18th of April, 1910, Parmanand was bound over for three years under section 110 (f), Criminal Procedure Code, and his appeal to the Chief Court was rejected. These untoward discoveries caused much searching of hearts in Arya Samaj circles, and, if independent information from more than one private source can be trusted, much searching of boxes also; it was reported that a good deal of doubtful literature was consigned to the flames at this time in the Colleges of Lahore and other cities of the Punjab. When the incriminating documents were discovered in Bhai Parmanand's possession he was suspected by the authorities of the D. A. V. College, and when the case was finally decided against him he was dismissed.

RELAXATION OF PRECAUTIONS

During the next two years nothing of importance occurred in the Province. A certain amount of seditious literatures was produced, and there were the usual exhibitions of ill-feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans, and between the members of the Arya Samaj and the followers of other religions. In 1912 there was a good deal of political excitement among the Mahomedans, arising out of their sympathy with the Turks in their difficulties in Europe, and encouraged by the reversal of the Partition of Bengal which was regarded as a victory for the Hindus and a proof of the success of political agitation. None of these movements, however, led to any serious breach of the law, and the Punjab like the rest of India appeared outwardly to be so quiet that, in the [354] opinion of some of the highest authorities, the time had come to relax the precautions against political outrages which had been hitherto taken. This opinion unfortunately prevailed, and the trusting spirit in which the arrangements for the State Entry into Delhi in December, 1912, had to be made undoubtedly facilitated the attempt on the life of the Viceroy. By this time Delhi had of course ceased to be part of the Punjab, but a close connection was established between the revolutionary conspirators of Delhi and Lahore.

THE DELHI BOMB

About midday on December 23rd, 1912, a bomb was thrown at Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy and Governor-General, during his State Entry into Delhi. His Excellency was riding on an elephant on the right side of the front seat of the howdah, with Lady Hardinge on his left, and two Indian attendants were seated behind. The bomb exploded in front of the attendant immediately behind the Viceroy; the attendant was instantly killed, the Viceroy himself was severely wounded by fragments of the bomb and of the howdah, and the second attendant was injured. The procession was only momentarily stopped, as His Excellency, who at first did not realise the death of his attendant or the serious character of his own injuries, ordered it to proceed; and it had gone on some little distance before Lady Hardinge, who displayed throughout the most admirable fortitude, noticed that the attendant was killed and that the Viceroy was in a fainting condition, and ordered it to stop. When the bomb was thrown the elephant was opposite a block of buildings known as the Dhulya Katra on the North side of the Chadni Chowk, the principal thoroughfare of Delhi. The Dhulya Katra is a large rectangular block with a courtyard in the centre, and the premises facing the street were occupied by the Punjab National Bank. The evidence of eyewitnesses as to the point from which the bomb was thrown, including the statements of the highest officials, was confusing and contradictory, and it was for a long time supposed that it came from the roof of the National Bank. The most detailed enquiries failed to confirm this theory, and it now appears equally likely that it may have been thrown from the pavement which ran down the middle of [355] the wide street. Evidence on other points was equally difficult to obtain, and it was only after a protracted and elaborate investigation, extending from Lahore to Sylhet in Assam, where a valuable clue was discovered, that the whole thing came out. For reasons which will presently appear the case was never proved in a court of law, but subject to this limitation the main facts have been definitely ascertained. An examination of fragments of the Delhi bomb indicated that it was of similar workmanship to the bomb thrown in Dalhousie Square in March, 1911, and the bomb which exploded at the house of police informer in Midnapore in December 1912; before describing the events which led up to the Delhi outrage, two later cases in which bombs

of the same series were employed, will be noted here, as they had an important bearing on the investigation.

THE MAULVI BAZAR BOMB

About 7-20 p.m., on March 27th, 1913, the report of a bomb was heard near the gate of the bungalow of Mr. G. Gordon, I.C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Maulvi Bazar, Sylhet District. Mr. Gordon was sitting in his verandah at the time and heard some persons running down the road. He believed the report to be that of an ordinary bazar bomb, fired by some school boys, and took no notice of it that night. A short time after this he went across to the Circuit House and dined with the Commissioner. Early next morning he received information that the dead body of a man was lying in his compound near the hedge and a few yards from his gate, and gave information to the police. The man had evidently been killed by the explosion of a bomb, and near the body were found two revolvers, one of .380-bore by Manton & Co., which was one of a number stolen in 1906, and the other of an old pattern and without any number. It was evident that the Bengali had been lying in wait for Mr. Gordon, who had incurred the enmity of the members of an institution called the Arunachal Ashram. The original Arunachal Ashram was started in 1908 near Silchar by Gurudas Chaudhuri, formerly a local Board clerk, who called himself Dayanand Swami and collected a number of adherents. In March, 1912, a branch was opened at Jagatse, [356] near Maulvi Bazar, and there Dayananda himself led the devotional exercises which included the dancing together of men and women in the scantiest attire to the accompaniment of noisy music. According to the Bengali press a number of Bengali ladies of respectable families were attracted to the institution, which thus became a grave menace to the morals, as well as to the peace, of the neighbourhood. On a complaint that a boy had been kidnapped and was being detained in the Ashram, a search warrant was issued in June, 1912, but the police officer who went to execute it quietly was opposed by the inmates and retired unsuccessful. Accordingly on 6th July, 1912, a force of armed police was sent under an Assistant Superintendent. The followers of Dayananda came out to attack them, and the Assistant Superintendent was knocked off his horse, whereupon some of the police fired and one of the so-called sadhus was killed. On July 9th the Deputy Commissioner finally executed the warrant

with a force of Gurkha Military Police. The members of this fanatical society had established a state of terrorism in the neighbourhood, and when enquiries about the bomb incident were started people who were understood to be in possession of information were evidently afraid to give it; even the identity of the deceased Bengali was not established for some years.

THE LAHORE BOMB

The Lahore bomb went off at about 8-55 p.m. on 17th May, 1913. It was deposited on a road in the Lawrence Gardens, apparently with the intention of killing or injuring some member of the European club in the Montgomery Hall on his way home, and being run over in the dark on a bicycle by a Hindu chaprassi named Ram Padarath it exploded and killed him. In the meantime Mr. Gordon had been transferred from Assam to the Punjab, and he was actually in the Montgomery Hall at the time. Before he left Maulvi Bazar his life had been threatened again, and as the Lahore bomb evidently belonged to the same series it appeared that his enemies in the Sylhet District must have followed him upto Lahore. This attractive theory was eventually disapproved, but it led to enquiries in Maulvi Bazar and the neighbourhood which were of value in [357] pointing to the source of all these picric acid bombs; the Lahore case itself opened up a number of interesting lines of enquiry in connection with the Delhi bomb.

THE LIBERTY LEAFLETS

The next event of importance was the raid in Raja Bazar, Calcutta (see page 328) in November, 1913, which unearthed the gang responsible for preparing the metal cases for this series of bombs, and it turned out that the same gang was also engaged in the preparation of the "Liberty" leaflets. The first leaflet of this series appeared in Lahore some days before the bomb outrage, the second was posted from Ambala towards the end of July, and the leaflet found in Kalipada Ghose's possession in Calcutta was the third. The writer of the Lahore leaflet, which is printed in English, refers at length to the Mutiny of 1857, and proceeds "Various are the ways of Providence to bring about changes. The upheaval of 1857 was the rising of an unprepared injured child against a demon; but the Revolution of 1917 as to be the rising of a full-grown and completely armed man against a spent up, emaciated, worn out, cruel, and blood-sucking wolf; or, in

other words, the conflict is to be between Virtue in its full glory, armed with the Might of Justice and Freedom, and Vice with drooping body." Turning to more recent times he praise those whom he describes as martyrs, Khudiram Bose, Madan Lal Dhingra and others, and says "The thrower of bomb on the representative of tyrannical government at Delhi was none else but the spirit of the Dispenser of all things Himself. Had it not been a Providential fiat, the resourceful machinery of the Bureaucrats would have been exulting as much as have to weep over their fate to-day. The debt we owe to the noble spirits of the martyrs will be paid only when young men of India will begin to come forward in numbers each to prove a worthy successor of these departed souls. Is the blood of these martyrs or the exile of patriots not sufficient to madden you? Come forward, young men of Bharatvarsha, prove yourselves worthy sons of this Holy Land and let the Feringhi tyrants feel the full force of your indignation by being offered as sacrifices at the altar of the Mother."

AMIR CHAND

[358] The fact that bombs and leaflets advocating their use were being prepared by the same persons in Calcutta, and that these leaflets and a bomb of the same series had appeared simultaneously in Lahore, suggested that there was probably a close connection in the Punjab between those who distributed the leaflets and those who used the bombs, and this inference was successfully worked out. The "Liberty" leaflets had been circulated also in the United Provinces, and careful investigation there pointed to a certain Aabd Behari, a young B.A., who lived in the house of "Master" Amir Chand in Delhi. The latter was a man of 40 years of age and already a well-known figure in political agitation in Delhi. He had been for years a master in St. Stephen's Mission School, under the Cambridge Mission, and the authorities of this institution had always defended him against the suspicion with which he was regarded by Government. His house was called the Prem Dham, or Abode of Love, but his affection evidently did not extend to Europeans, though he had been befriended by some, for in his house were found an essay in his own handwriting advocating their assassination, and a manual explaining how this could be effected on large scale by means of poison. Abad Behari, too, was not new to the business, for in the search of the house of Abinash Charkravarti, in the Manik-

tolla conspiracy case, a letter was found dated 24th January, 1908, from Abad Behari, Prem Dham, Delhi, asking for a copy of the *Bartaman Rananiti* (see page 51).

ARREST OF AMIR CHAND

In the early hours of a cold February morning in 1914 Amir Chand was roused by a knock at his street door, and looking down from an upper window he saw a muffled figure which replied to his enquiry what was the matter in the sleepy drawl of an Indian Telegraph messenger, "Babuji, tar aya hai." The incriminating documents and articles in his possession were all tied up in bundles, ready to be thrown out into the courtyard or on to a neighbouring roof at the first alarm; but being anxious as conspirators are to learn the latest news, he came down to the door, without taking these pre-arranged precautions, to receive the expected telegram. As he opened the door [359] a search warrant was thrust into his hand, and the game was up. His essay on the general massacre of the English and the treatise on the use of poisons for political purposes, which have been mentioned above, were found, as well as a cipher code containing a list of names which included his own and Abad Behari's and 57 copies of two issues of the "Liberty" leaflet. A still more important discovery was a cap that could be used to detonate a bomb of the Delhi and Lahore series; it was proved in Court to be similar to the cap attached to a bomb of the same series thrown into Bhadreswar police station, (Hooghly District) in December, 1913, which failed to go off.

INFLUENCE OF HAR DAYAL

The search of Amir Chand's house also disclosed the name of Dina Nath of Lahore, an important member of the conspiracy, who when he was arrested made a long statement and was afterwards made an approver. His account of the Lahore bomb case was accepted both by the Sessions Judge of Delhi and by the Chief Court of the Punjab as remarkably accurate and substantially correct in every detail; and though his references to the Delhi case were naturally not subject to cross-examination there is little doubt, from verification they have received, that they would have stood the test equally well. Shortly after the Delhi bomb outrage information was received from San Francisco that Har Dayal had claimed that it was the work of his party, and had

written the essay in its praise which was afterwards sent out to India as a leaflet (see page 128). At the time it was thought that his claim was merely an idle boast, but it now appears that there was a good deal in it. Even before he left India in 1905, at the age of 21, Har Dayal was something of a firebrand in politics, but when he came back from Oxford at the beginning of 1908 he was worse. He collected a party of students, sometimes as many as 30 or 40, to whom he preached his extreme views, and it is on record that in April, 1908, he and a small party from Delhi stayed for a few days in Lahore with Lala Lajpatrai. It is not known whether in those early days Har Dayal preached assassination, but the line afterwards taken by his *Ghadr* newspaper [360] in San Francisco makes it quite probable that he did.

RASH BEHARI BOSE

When Har Dayal left India in August, 1908, he handed over the leadership of this band of disaffected youths to Amir Chand, and the next important episode is the appearance on the scene two years later in Lahore of Rash Behari Bose. This man is a Bengali, a native of French Chandernagore, and a relative of a well-known leader of the Chandernagore revolutionary gang named Sirish Ghose. Rash Behari, however, was not at this time under any suspicion; he was employed as a clerk in the Imperial Forest Institute at Dehra Dun, where he bore an exemplary character. On his visit to Lahore in 1910 he found the remnants of Har Dayal's party ready to his hand, and after making arrangements to correspond with some of them returned to Dehra Dun.

BASANTA KUMAR BISWAS

In November, 1911, Rash Behari Bose, who had been away on leave, returned to Dehra Dun with a young Bengali of about 21 years of age named Basanta Kumar Biswas, son of Moti Lal Biswas of the Nadia District; Basanta was employed as his servant, and used to cook for him. Rash Behari is a Kayasth by caste, and Basanta belonged to the caste named Mahisya which is much lower in the social scale. As it is impossible for a Kayasth to eat food cooked by a Mahisya—he would be outcasted if he were seen doing so—Rash Behari informed his friend that the youth was a Kayasth; and as the name Biswas would itself have suggested that his servant was probably of an inferior caste he called

him Hari Das Ghose and let it be understood that he was a relative. The two, in fact, lived on much more intimate terms than master and servant, and for the best part of a year Rash Behari was coaching Basanta in the doctrine that assassination was no crime but was in accordance with his religious duty as a Hindu.

THE THROWING OF THE DELHI BOMB

Basanta, thus prepared for the work he was to do, was taken to Lahore by Rash Behari Bose in October, 1912, and employment was found for him, [361] through other members of the conspiracy, in a chemist's shop known as the Popular Dispensary. Rash Behari left him there and went back to duty at Dehra Dun, and on December 22nd they met again at Delhi, evidently by arrangement. Among Rash Behari's acquaintances in Dehra Dun was a coach-builder and furniture dealer named Narain Das, who used to supply furniture to the Forest Institute of which Rash Behari was now Head Clerk. He had taken a house in Delhi, in a lane off Hamilton Road, in October, 1912, and according to his own account he met Rash Behari accidentally in Delhi a day or two before the State Entry. The latter claimed his hospitality, and also brought to the house a young man whom Narain Das did not know before, but who was described by Rash Behari as a friend of his from Lahore; Narain Das afterwards picked Basanta Kumar Biswas out of 17 persons as the young man in question. At day-break on December 23rd Rash Behari and his young friend left the house and proceeded to the Chadni Chowk; Basanta was dressed like a Delhi youth, wearing a round cap and not bareheaded as Bengalis usually are, and he threw the bomb when the procession came along, Rash Behari being close beside him at the time. Both of them remained in Delhi for a day or two, after which Rash Behari returned to Dehra Dun, and there, in his capacity as a respectable and law-abiding citizen, attended a meeting of condolence with His Excellency the Viceroy, and himself proposed the name of the Bengali gentleman who presided.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE LAHORE BOMB

Basanta Kumar Biswas went back to Lahore, where he continued to associate with the revolutionary party, principally with Abad Behari, the young friend of Amir Chand of Delhi, who was in Lahore at the time. At the instigation of Rash Behari Bose, who wrote to them advising that more "big work",

the expression used for bomb-throwing, should be done in the Punjab, they decided to throw a bomb amongst the Europeans in the club at Montgomery Hall, and fixed on a Saturday evening as that was the time when the club was most crowded. Accordingly on the 16th of May, 1913, Abad Behari handed over to Basanta the bomb he had procured, [362] with instruction to meet him in the Lawrence Gardens next evening between 7 and 8 when he would fix it together. They met as arranged, and Abad Behari fixed the detonator, which he had retained, to the bomb brought by Basanta, and handed the completed article to the latter. Basanta tried to approach the hall, but being unable to do so because of a sentry who was posted there he deposited it on the road in the hope that some European member of the club might walk or drive over it.

THE DELHI CONSPIRACY CASE

As the result of enquiries in this case Basanta Kumar Biswas and ten others were committed for trial to the Sessions Court of Delhi on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder, in pursuance of which a murder, namely the murder of the *chaprassi* Ram Padarath, was committed. In October 1914, five persons were acquitted; Abad Behari, Amir Chand, and another member of the conspiracy named Balmokand, were sentenced to death, and Basanta and two others to transportation for life. The six men who were convicted appealed, and at the same time the Government of the Punjab appealed against the acquittal of one Charan Das, and made an application in revision for the enhancement of the sentence passed on Basanta. In February, 1915, the Chief Court of the Punjab dismissed the appeals of Abad Behari, Amir Chand and Balmokand, reduced the sentences on two conspirators of minor importance to seven years each, reversed the acquittal of Charan Das and sentenced him to transportation for life, and sentenced Basanta Kumar Biswas to death. In May, 1915, Amir Chand, Abad Behari and Balmokand were hanged at Delhi, and Basanta Kumar Biswas at Ambala. Basanta had learnt well the lessons inculcated by Rash Behari Bose and remained firm to the end, refusing to admit his part in either the Delhi or the Lahore outrage.

RASH BEHARI BOSE

When the case against Rash Behari Bose became clear an attempt was made to secure his presence at the enquiry and his

official superior sent him orders to return from leave and rejoin his appointment in Dehra Dun. Rash Behari indicated his appreciation of the situation, and his contempt [363] for the method employed, by replying in a telegram that he would rejoin on the 1st of April, and, of course, never appeared. He succeeded in escaping to Japan where he was found to be using the name P. N. Thakur. In Tokyo in the early Autumn of 1915 he was much in company of Heramba Lal Gupta who took a prominent part in the German-Indian plot in America and had been sent on to Japan to supervise the work there. In September, 1915, Rash Behari was in Shanghai and attended an important meeting arranged by the German agent Nielsen at which plans for a rising in India were discussed. The name he adopted here was William Dull, and he was expected to go on under that *alias* to Bangkok where arrangements were made for his arrest, but being anything but dull he evidently realised the danger and returned to Japan.

THE AMERICA-RETURNED SIKHS

The next incident of importance in the Punjab was the return of disaffected Sikhs from abroad. In Chapter IX reference is made to the general exodus of the Sikhs from the United States and Canada shortly after war broke out, and to the fact that many of them had been successfully approached by the *Ghadr* party of San Francisco and were returning to India with the deliberate intention of raising an insurrection in the Punjab. The following extract from a speech delivered by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Punjab Legislative Council on 24th April, 1917, describes what happened on their arrival and the measures that were taken :—

“Now that practically all the most dangerous members of the revolutionary movement have been brought to justice, it has been possible for Government to proceed with the policy of dealing leniently with their dupes and with those who were only slightly involved. Last year I told the Council that of the 212 returned emigrants who had been interned in jail under the Ingress Act only 134 were then under detention. It was found necessary during the year ending 31st March to intern 20 more in jail, making a total of 154. On the other hand, we have released conditionally or unconditionally 103 men who showed signs of having return to sane ideas, and only 51 are now under detention.

These 51 men have a [364] thoroughly bad record, and we are not yet satisfied that they have abandoned their anarchist and revolutionary designs. When we are so satisfied we shall have no hesitation in restoring them to liberty, but meantime it is not in the interests of public order to set them free. Altogether some 8,000 emigrants have returned to the Punjab from the United States, Canada and the Far East since the war began. It is notorious that determined efforts were made by the revolutionary organisation to bring all those men when outside India into the *Ghadr* conspiracy. In the great majority of cases the pernicious teaching produced no effect, and in about 6,000 cases no special action was required or at least no special action was taken by Government. In some 1,500 cases, as a precautionary measure, it was found desirable on the advice of the local Sikh committees to restrict the returned men to their villages, and in some cases security was also taken. Our leniency was sometimes abused as a score or more defied the restriction orders and took an active part in the revolutionary movement of two years ago. Those men have been brought to justice. The great majority, however, settled down peaceably, and acting on the advice of the local officers and the recommendations of the Sikh committees, which have been such a help to us in this matter, the restriction orders are being steadily cancelled.

“Here too the Council may like to have exact figures. The total number under restriction in villages was 1,534. During the year 91 more were restricted, bringing the total to 1,625. We have already released unconditionally from all restrictions 700, and 925 are still under restriction. I hope in the course of the present year it will be possible for us to dispense with all restrictive measures in the great majority of these cases. To complete the tale of our preventive action I may add that there are also 98 persons restricted under the Defence of India Act generally to their own villages.”

THE LAHORE CONSPIRACY CASES

Most of the returned emigrant Sikhs who were concerned in criminal conspiracy and outrage were tried by Special Tribunals, in three batches, in cases known as the Lahore Conspiracy Case and two supplementary [365] cases. The following table gives some idea of the size and importance of these proceedings :—

	No. of accused before the court	Witnesses for the prosecution.	Witnesses for the defence.	Duration of trial.
Lahore Conspiracy Case	61	404	228	April, 1915 to September, 1915.
First Supplementary Case	74	365	1,042	October, 1915 to March, 1916.
Second Supplementary Case	77	17	101	November, 1916 to Janu- ary, 1917.

The General result of these trials was as follows :—

	Sentenced to death.	Transporta- tion for life.	Various terms of imprison- ment.	Acquitted
First case	24	27	6	4
Second case	6	45	8	15
Third case	6	5	1	5

In these figures those who were made approvers or who were discharged in the earlier stages of the trials have not been included. Of the 24 persons condemned to death in the first case the Lieutenant-Governor commuted the sentence on one, and the Viceroy the sentences of 16 more, to transportation for life, and the remaining 7 were executed.

ORIGIN OF THE CONSPIRACY

The main charges against all these accused persons were waging war and conspiring to wage war against the King, and it was found by the courts that, as has been indicated above, the conspiracy had its origin in the United States and was set on foot by Har Dayal and his followers of the *Ghadr* party. The first acts of war were the assembly of men in the United States and in Shanghai with the express object of sending them to India to start a rising, but the timely warning received from America led to the internment of many of the most [366] dangerous characters and upset the plans of the conspirators. In the months of Nov-

ember and December, 1914, some of those who had not been interned, and others who disregarded the orders restricting them to their villages, began to wander about several of the Punjab districts, singly or in small gangs, attempting to collect recruits from the villages and with vague ideas of committing dacoities; but they were like sheep without a shepherd, and to the credit of the Punjab peasantry it must be admitted that they had very little success with the villagers.

THE GATHERING AT JHAR SAHIB

At the end of November, 1914, two serious attempts were made to start a rising. A gang consisting mostly of returned emigrants collected on November 26th at the Jhar Sahib near Lahore; they had arranged with disaffected troopers of the Cavalry at Mian Mir that the regiment should mutiny and that, joined by the mutineers, they should march on Sarhali, Patti and Taran Taran. Some of the mutineers armed and prepared to ride out, but only a few started, and they arrived too late at the Jhar Sahib where they were arrested as the plot had by this time leaked out; the gang which had collected was poorly armed and badly led, and though it started to march on Sarhali it dispersed on the way.

THE FERROZESHAHR MURDER

The second gang collected at Lahore Cantonment on November 25th and moved to Ferozepore with the intention of attacking the arsenal there on the 30th. To fill in the time an armed party was sent to Mogha to attack the treasury and obtain money and arms; some went by train, and a party of 15, armed with revolvers, proceeded by road. On November 27th the latter party met Sub-Inspector Bisharat Ali near Ferozshahr; he stopped them and was about to search them when they shot him dead, and in covering their retreat they also shot and killed a Zaildar named Jawala Singh. A running fight ensued which ended in two of the gang being killed and seven arrested; the remaining six escaped. The seven men, who were returned emigrants from the United States and Manila, were all convicted at Ferozepore [367] and executed; an eighth, who was arrested later, was convicted by the Special Tribunal in Lahore and executed there.

THE BOMB EXPERT FROM BENGAL

The preparation of bombs was a definite part of the *Ghadr* programme, and towards the end of 1914 the Sikh conspirators, who knew very little about it, though they tried some experiments, decided to call in a Bengali expert; at a meeting held at Kapurthala at the end of December a Maratha Brahmin named Vishnu Ganesh Pingley was able to announce that a Bengali babu was prepared to co-operate with them. Pingley was about 22 years of age, and belonged to Talegaon Dhabade, a village in the Poona District already well known as a centre of sedition. He had been to America, and arrived back in India in November, 1914, along with some Sikhs of the *Ghadr* party. Early in January, 1915, Pingley left the Punjab to bring the Bengali expert, and about the middle of the month he was back in Amritsar with a friend known to several witnesses as "the fat babu", who proved to be the notorious Rash Behari Bose (see page 360). Rash Behari, stayed there for about a fortnight, but as he was receiving too many visitors he moved to Lahore; there is ample evidence that in both places he collected materials for making bombs, and by his instructions an order for 80 bomb cases was given to a foundry at Lahore. The owner of the foundry, however, became suspicious and eventually refused to carry out the order, refunded the advance paid to him, and melted down the cases he had prepared. In both Lahore and Amritsar, as well as in other places, bombs were made, inkpots being frequently used as cases, and bombs were thrown in several of the dacoities; completed bombs ready for use were found in house searches in Lahore, but Rash Behari Bose succeeded in escaping a few days before a number of his immediate followers were arrested. The Maratha, Pingley, was found on the night of March 23rd, 1915, in the lines of the 12th Cavalry at Meerut, with a box in his possession containing 10 bombs; he was convicted in the first Lahore conspiracy case and sentenced to death.

DACOITIES ON THE BENGAL MODEL

[368] How much the directing of the Bengali and the Maratha Brahmin had to do with it is not very clear, but their appearance on the scene was certainly followed at once by a great recrudescence of activity on the part of the duller-witted Sikh conspirators. They now began to take seriously to dacoity, on the

Bengal model, to replenish their funds; the following is a list of the crimes of this character found by the courts to have been committed by them:—

Date	Place	Nature of Crime
23rd January, 1915.	Sahnewal.	Dacoity with murder.
27th January, 1915.	Mansuran.	Dacoity.
29th January, 1915.	Jhaner.	Dacoity.
2nd February, 1915.	Chabba.	Dacoity with murder.
3rd February, 1915.	Rabhon.	Dacoity.

Other dacoities were contemplated, and one or two of them attempted; two successful dacoities in the Gurudaspur District were also the work of returned emigrants of the *Ghadr* party, but the perpetrators were tried separately in the ordinary courts.

THE ATTEMPTED RISING IN FEBRUARY, 1915

Their failure in November, 1914, to induce the men of the 23rd Cavalry to mutiny did not dishearten the conspirators of Lahore, and they continued to keep in touch with disaffected elements in the regiment by sending emissaries to Mian Mir and holding secret meetings in the lines, at the rifle range, and at other places. They obtained many promises of help, and in the end decided to have a general rising on the 21st February, 1915, but suspecting that their plans were discovered they altered the date at the last moment to the 19th. The arrangement was that two supporting gangs of returned emigrants from Lahore and Amritsar should approach the lines in the evening, join the mutineers of the regiment and seize the magazine; when all were armed they were to make an attack on the artillery and commence a massacre of European officers and afterwards [369] of Europeans in general. The rising in Lahore was of great importance as it was to be the signal for a similar rising in other places. The scheme was discovered in time; at 7 o'clock the same evening the whole regiment except recruits, was ordered to fall in, and it was kept on duty till midnight. The supporting gangs dispersed, on hearing that the authorities had got wind of the projected rising, and the whole plot failed. A very similar attempt was made at Ferozepore, where the returned emigrants hoped to attack the arsenal, on the same day as the rising in Lahore, with the help of mutinous sepoy of the 26th Punjab. It was proved that a large body of men did go to Ferozepore that day, and that at-

tempts had been made for some time to secure the co-operation of sepoys of the regiment, but information obtained by the military authorities enabled them to checkmate this movement also before it got too far.

COLLAPSE OF THE CONSPIRACY

The failure of the Lahore rising of the 19th February led to the collapse of the main conspiracy; it was chiefly due to the fact that the police were able to introduce into the inner circle of the revolutionaries a spy named Kirpal Singh, a cousin of a trooper of the 23rd Cavalry named Balwant Singh, who had recently returned from America and was known to be in touch with other returned emigrants. On the 15th February, 1915, Kirpal Singh was in Lahore and visited the headquarters of the movement in a house near the Mochi Gate where he found over a dozen of the leaders collected, including Pingley and Rash Behari Bose. He telegraphed to the police officer with whom he was in touch to come to Lahore and arrest them, but his telegram was delayed in transmission, and the police did not arrive till the next morning, when he was able to tell them that the rising was fixed for the 21st. On the 16th the revolutionaries sent Kirpal Singh off on a mission to Dadhir, and afterwards, becoming suspicious of him, they hastily antedated the rising to the 19th. That morning Kirpal Singh returned to Lahore and visited the Mochi Gate house where he learned that the rising was now fixed for the same evening. He managed to convey this information to the police, and was told to return to the house and [370] signal when a raid should be made. In the afternoon he discovered that he was suspected, and thinking, probably correctly, that his murder was imminent, he obtained permission on a simple pretext to go on to the roof of the house, and gave the signal for the raid at about 4-30 p.m. The house was at once rushed by the police; seven men were captured on the premises, and the seizure of their headquarters ruined the plans of the conspirators.

TERRORISM

Though the movement for a general rising was suppressed in consequence of the discovery of the plot there were still many desperadoes at large. On February 20th, 1915, in the Anarkali Bazar, Lahore, a Sub-Inspector and a Head Constable of police met Arjan Singh, a returned emigrant, who had taken part in

several dacoities. The Head Constable, suspecting Arjan Singh who was accompanied by two other Sikhs, tried to arrest him and was at once shot dead, and the Sub-Inspector was wounded; Arjan Singh was afterwards hanged for this murder. Again on 25th April, 1915, a *zaildar* named Chandan Singh, who had caused the arrest of Piara Singh, a person convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, was murdered by two leading revolutionaries who were afterwards executed. On 4th June, 1915, Sirdar Bahadur Ichra Singh, who had opposed the Sikh revolutionary movement, was murdered by two members of the conspiracy at Jagatpur, and on 2nd August Kapur Singh was murdered at Padri for having given information about the gathering at the Jhar Sahib.

THE WALLA BRIDGE MURDERS

At a meeting held at Kapurthala on June 5th, 1915, a design to capture the magazine was discussed, and it was decided to meet again on the 12th to make further arrangements. Meantime a gang was sent to attack the guard on the Walla Bridge, in order to obtain their rifles and ammunition for use in the attempt on the magazine. On the night of 11th June a party of eight men rushed the guard, killed the sentry and another sepoy of the 42nd Deoli Regiment, and carried off their arms. Six of the party returned to Kapurthala territory and murdered two more men on their way; eventually [371] five of them were arrested and executed under sentence of the Special Tribunal. The remaining two members of the attacking party went back by another route; one of them, Bachan Singh, was an approver in the first supplementary conspiracy case, and the other was convicted in the same case and sentenced to death.

THE SEDUCTION OF TROOPS

It will be evident from what is recorded here that the seduction of Indian troops was part of the *Ghadr* programme, and in fact the columns of the *Ghadr* newspaper stated this in plain language. Besides the three regiments that have been mentioned it is known that emissaries were sent to cantonments all round the Punjab and the United Provinces to invite the regiments to join; in many cases they met with no success at all, in others a few of the men said they were prepared to help, but nowhere did they succeed in causing any serious trouble. It must be remembered that the average sepoy or sowar is a person of no education

and little intelligence, and the remark of the Rajput soldier of one regiment, who said "he was prepared to join if he was given a *jagir* (grant of land) at the end of the war", may be regarded as fairly typical of the promises given to the agents of the *Ghadr* party and of the spirit in which they were made.

THE CASES OF BHAJ PARAMANAND

In the first conspiracy case great public interest was taken in the fate of Bhai Parmanand, M.A., the ex-professor of the Arya Samaj College in Lahore. When he was bound over under the Criminal Procedure Code (see page 353) he retired for a time to his own village, and on October, 1910, he sailed from Bombay for Europe, giving out that he was going to study medicine. He went first to Paris, where he did not stay long, and in December, 1910, he arrived at Georgetown, Demerara, British Guiana, and took up his residence there. In March, 1911, he was trying to make the Hindus in the Colony start a school, partly in order to prevent the Hindu children from being converted to Christianity (one of the main objects of the Arya Samaj) and partly, no doubt, to provide himself with employment. [372] In September, 1911, he arrived in California and started a two years' course of pharmacy there, and on Har Dayal's return to Berkeley from Palo Alto in 1912, he became one of his associates. In 1913 he left the United States for England, and in September, 1913, he was reported to be in Paris and to be visiting Madame Cama. Having completed his tour of the revolutionary centres he arrived back in India in December, 1913, and returned to Lahore, and when the *Ghadr* movement started in the Punjab it was that his house was a place of call for dangerous members of the party. There was evidence also that he contributed to their funds; two currency notes of Rs. 100 each found in the possession of one of the conspirators when he was arrested, were traced back to Bhai Parmanand. The case against him was discussed at considerable length in the judgment in the Lahore Conspiracy Case and the court unanimously reached the following conclusion:— "Finally, we can only say that we have examined and considered all the available evidence with the utmost care; and the only conclusion to which we can come is that this accused was not only one of the persons concerned in the present conspiracy, but was one of the most important of the revolutionists." He was convicted and sentenced to death by a majority of two members

of the court; the third member agreed with the finding against the accused but did not think a capital sentence called for, and the sentence was eventually commuted by the Viceroy to transportation for life.

CAUSES OF FAILURE

The three requisites for a successful revolution laid down by the *Ghadr* party are men, money, and arms; the *Ghadr* movement in the Punjab possessed at the outset some fine material so far as men were concerned, but they were weak in the two other essentials. They had a vague idea of obtaining German help, and some parties proceeding to India by the Pacific route are known to have visited German consuls on the way; but the Germans apparently failed to appreciate the importance of the movement, and in the absence of instructions the consuls could offer them little material assistance. The main causes of their failure were, however, the measures taken [373] by the Government of the Punjab, which have been already described, and the generally loyal attitude of the people of the Province, which these measures, in the case of waverers, doubtless tended to confirm.

UNITED PROVINCES

SUNDAR LAL

In Chapter II reference is made to an attempt to hold a Shivaji Festival in Benares in 1907, and to the very objectionable speech delivered in connection with it by Sundar Lal. This young man who was born about 1885, son of Tula Ram, Kayasth, of the Muzaffarnagar District, was responsible for stirring up a great deal of trouble in the United Provinces. He was a student in the Muir College, Allahabad, in 1907, and was started on his career as a political agitator by the visit of Lala Lajpatrai, under whose influence he had already come in Lahore. His speeches, including the one mentioned above, proved him to be a reckless youth of considerable ability, and on account of their disloyal character he was expelled from the Muir College boarding-house. In the following year, 1908, Lajpatrai came to the United Provinces again on a lecturing tour and Sundar Lal accompanied him to several places including Cawnpore, Lucknow and Allahabad. He is known to have been also a follower of Arabindo Ghose and B. G. Tilak; on the afternoon of August 22nd, 1909,

in College Square, Calcutta, both he and Arabindo Ghose delivered speeches at a *swadeshi* meeting which was described by the Commissioner of Police as more mischievous in character than had been the case lately, and when he was starting the *Karmayogi* magazine in Allahabad he published the following advertisement in the *Abhyudaya* of 23rd July, 1909 :—

“The Karmayogi, a new fortnightly review in Hindi, will be started at Allahabad from September next. It will be edited by Sundar Lal, B.A., and besides reproducing translations of important extracts from Mr. Arabindo Ghose’s *Karmayogin* and Mr. Tilak’s *Kesari*, it will publish independent articles on principles of nationalism as based on the ancient Vedic religion, also [374] on the Swadeshi and boycott movements, of national education and on swaraj. It will also contain articles on the past greatness of India and her present condition, along with suggestions as to how national regeneration can be brought about.”

THE SWARAJYA

Sundar Lal was also the chief promoter of the *Swarajya* of Allahabad, although he managed to evade the responsibilities of editorship. The paper was warned in April, 1908, that it would be prosecuted if it continued to publish sedition, and the threat was carried out in June; the editor Shanti Narayan was convicted in July and sentenced to 3½ years’ imprisonment. Three more prosecutions had to be undertaken against successive editors; they were all convicted, and the following sentences were passed :— Ram Hari, in December 1908, to seven years, and Nand Gopal and Ladda Ram Sanyasi each to 10 years in March and May, 1910, respectively. The *Swarajya*, the *Karmayogi*, and a similar paper called the *Hindi Pradip*, in which Sundar Lal was interested, all came to an end in 1910 through the operation of the Press Act, and he then adopted the dress of a religious devotee and called himself Someshwaranand Swami. In this character he lived for a time in the Dehra Dun District, but in May, 1912, he was in Delhi and stayed for a week with Amir Chand who was sentenced to death in the Delhi Conspiracy Case. About June, 1912, he went to live at Solon, in the Simla Hills, and as his name came up in the Delhi enquiry his house was searched in March, 1913. It was found that one of the members of the Delhi Conspiracy, Harwant Sahai, had been staying with him in Solon before he was arrested, but Sundar Lal himself was in bad health

and had not apparently been engaged in active work for some time.

RASH BEHARI BOSE

These details of Sundar Lal's later career show that he continued to be in touch with the centre of the revolutionary movement at least till 1913. His connection with Rash Behari Bose, however, dates back to the time when he started the *Karmayogi*; the paper was admittedly a copy [375] of the *Karmayogin* of Calcutta which, though controlled by Arabindo Ghose, was edited by Amarendra Nath Chatterji. The latter was well known to Rash Behari Bose; it has been ascertained that Basanta Kumar Biswas, the thrower of the Delhi bomb, was kept by Amarendra in his house at Uttarpara for 18 months, to receive his preliminary training, before he was handed over to Rash Behari for more a practical work (see page 360). Besides spreading sedition by means of his papers Sundar Lal was evidently therefore closely connected for a long time with this very dangerous gang of active revolutionaries; he spent most of his time in Allahabad, and so was not in the centre of the movement at Benares, but his influence in preparing the ground in this part of India was very great, and enquiries made in 1915 regarding the visits of V. G. Pingley and another emissary of the Delhi *Ghadr* party to Allahabad led back directly to the *Swarajya* gang.

THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATION

The connection between the revolutionaries of Benares and Calcutta mentioned in Chapter II led Sachindra Nath Sanyal to form an Anusilan Samiti in Benares in 1908, in imitation of the societies of the same name in Bengal, and when the latter attracted the unfavourable attention of the authorities the title of the former was changed to the "Young Men's Association." The society contained an inner circle, consisting of those who were fully initiated into its real objects, and sedition was mainly taught through a so-called moral class in which the Bhagwat Gita was so interpreted as to furnish a justification for assassination. About the beginning of 1913 Sachindra Nath Sanyal seceded from the society, along with some of the members, and formed a new party the object of which was to do more practical work and to get into closer touch with the Calcutta revolutionaries. He evidently succeeded in this, for in the course

of enquiries into the Raja Bazar case (see page 328) a letter was intercepted which was clearly intended for him; it was written by Sirish Chandra Ghose, the leader of the dangerous Chandernagore gang, and referred to the recent arrest of Amrita Lal Hazra. The statement of an [376] approver that Sachindra obtained bombs at that time from this source can be the more readily believed as it was proved at a later date that his gang were in possession of bombs made by the Bengal group.

LESSONS ON THE BOMB

For about a year after the Delhi bomb outrage in which he took such a prominent part Rash Behari Bose appears to have lain very low, but at the end of 1913 he was back in Benares, and he came to live there about February, 1914, in a house rented for him in Misr Pokhra; it is remarkable that although he was being sought for all over India he was able to live here undetected for a year, frequently changing his name and residence, and seldom walking abroad except at night. He was already acquainted with Sachindra Nath Sanyal, and the latter, in view of his greater age and experience, naturally handed over the leadership of the conspiracy to him. The youths of Sachindra's gang were introduced by him to Rash Behari, and the latter put them one by one through a sort of catechism; among the questions he asked were, "Are you married?" "Do you understand the work?" "Are you prepared to go to jail?" "Are you prepared to lose your life?" Collecting some of the more promising youths he gave lectures on bombs which were brought to the house by Sachindra Nath Sanyal, and explained their construction, showing why the caps and the bombs should be kept separate and how to put them together. The bombs were not stored in the house of any of the prominent leaders, but in the lodging of a humble student of Sanskrit named Babu Ram whom Sachindra thought unlikely to be suspected by the police.

EXPLOSION OF A BOMB CAP

One of these bomb demonstrations took place about 7 p.m. on November 18th, 1914, at Rash Behari's house. A fresh consignment of bombs had arrived from Bengal, and Rash Behari was examining two of the caps contained in a biscuit tin when one of them exploded; the tin was blown to pieces, Rash Behari was somewhat severely injured in the left hand and in the feet,

and Sachindra's eyes were scorched. The explosion [377] alarmed the ladies of the house, but the Bengali conspirators, with ready wit, told them the accident was due to the bursting of a soda-water bottle, and broke one to show them the fragments. They were not quite satisfied with this explanation, and the old lady who owned the house afterwards informed the court that the explosion was so loud that it shook the whole building. Immediately after the accident the conspirators all went away, except Rash Behari's cook who was left to settle up, and Rash Behari stayed the night with one of the members of the gang; next day another house was rented for him, and with a view to possible police enquiries the owner was asked to date the agreement from the 18th, which he did.

VINAYAK RAO KAPLE

About the time of the explosion a clever young Maratha named Vinayak Rao Kaple came into the plot. He was born about 1894, the son of Vishvanath Rao Kaple, belonging to Nagpur in the Central Provinces, who was for a time an assistant post-master in Benares. Vinayak, while a student in the Central Hindu College, Benares, was a member of the Young Men's Association, and a great friend of S. N. Sanyal. For about a year, from September, 1913, to October, 1914, he was away at Jubbulpore, where he attended the Government College, and on his return to Benares he joined Rash Behari's party; he first came to notice in connection with Rash Behari's visit to the Punjab to show the *Ghadr* party how to make and use bombs.

BENARES AND THE GHADR PARTY

Sachindra Nath Sanyal had become Rash Behari's principal Lieutenant in Benares, and when the *Ghadr* movement began to attract attention he was chosen by the latter to go to the Punjab to find out how the land lay. On November 30th, 1914, he was at Jullundur where he met three members of the party, and in the course of a discussion told them that bombs could be easily made. The result of this consultation was the meeting a month later at Kapurthala at which V. G. Pingley promised Bengali help (see page 367). About the 3rd January, 1915, Pingley and Sachindra were [378] both in Amritsar completing their arrangements; a few days later Sachindra, having received Rs. 500 for his expenses from the *Ghadr* party, left with Pingley for Benares. Shortly after their arrival there they attended a very important

meeting at Rash Behari's house at which Vinayak Rao and one or two others were present; Rash Behari announced that rebellion was about to take place all over the country, and that he himself was going to Lahore and the date for the rising would be fixed when he got there. To convey these decisions to the *Ghadr* conspiritors at Amritsar Vinayak Rao Kaple was sent off in advance with a letter from Sanyal, and a day or two later Rash Behari and Pingley arrived there together (see page 367).

PROJECTED RISING AT BENARES

Sachindra Nath Sanyal remained behind in Benares to arrange for the rising which was to take place there on the same day as the outbreak at Lahore, and by him personally and by others under his direction attempts were made to tamper with the men of the 7th Rajputs at Benares and the 89th Punjabis at Dinapore. These attempts did not get very far, though a few men lent an apparently sympathetic ear. The conspirators at Benares were not informed that the date of the Lahore rising had been changed from the 21st to the 19th of February; it is stated, indeed, that Sachindra and some of his friends waited in vain near the parade ground on the evening of the 21st for the expected mutiny to take place.

THE BENARES CONSPIRACY CASE

The discovery of the Benares branch of the plot led to the Benares Conspiracy Case which was heard by a Special Tribunal and lasted from 5th November, 1915 to 14th February, 1916. Sanction was given by Government to the prosecution of 24 persons, of whom 8 absconded and 1 was discharged at the commencement of the trial; of the remaining 15 Sachindra Nath Sanyal was sentenced to transportation for life, two were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, four to five years, three to 3 years, one to 2 years, and four were acquitted. Two of Sachindra's brothers were amongst the accused; one was acquitted as there was little to connect him with [379] really dangerous work, and the other was let off with 2 years' imprisonment on consideration of his youth and of the probability that he was under the influence of his elder brother. Vinayak Rao Kaple was in Lahore with Rash Behari Bose in February, 1915, acting as a sort of aide-de-camp to him, and unfortunately got away before the searches and arrests were made.

RASH BEHARI BOSE'S SUCCESSOR

Special interest attached to one of the accused named Nagendra Nath Dutt, *alias* Girija Babu, as he was proved to have been present on the last occasion on which Rash Behari Bose was seen in India. This was some time about May, 1915, in the upper room of a house over a post-office in Dhurumtollah Street, Calcutta; Rash Behari told those who were there that he was going to "some hills" and would not be back within two years, and that in his absence Girja Babu, who was a leader of Eastern Bengal, would see to the work. Girja Babu was arrested on 30th October, 1915, at Natore railway station with Rs. 520 in his possession regarding which he was unable to give a satisfactory explanation; he was convicted in the conspiracy case and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In working out the connection between the conspiracies in Benares and the Punjab it was found that there were sympathisers in several towns in the United Provinces, such as the remnants of the *Swarajya* gang in Allahabad, but no evidence was discovered of any widely organised revolutionary movement. These Provinces were in fact a convenient half-way house between Calcutta and the Punjab, and advantage was taken of the peculiar conditions of the cosmopolitan city of Benares, to which reference has been made in Chapter II, to use it as a temporary depôt for bombs made in Bengal, and as a place of meeting and a city of refuge for the travelling members of the revolutionary parties.

THE CAWNPORE MOSQUE CASE

Totally unconnected with these Hindu and Sikh conspiracies was an incident which occurred in Cawnpore in 1913, and, being worked up with considerable [380] skill in the Mahomedan press, stirred very deeply Moslem feeling in India. A new road was being made through the town by the city Improvement Trust, and the proposed alignment involved the demolition of a Hindu temple and also of a place of ablution attached to a Mahomedan mosque in the Machhli Bazar. The Hindus, as usual, were quick to protest, and the alignment was altered so as to save their temple; the Mahomedan community were at first apathetic, and the trustees of the mosque were apparently willing to consent to the demolition of the bathing place, which was duly carried out on

the 1st of July, 1913. As the alignment had been altered to please the Hindus the Mahomedans felt aggrieved that precisely similar consideration had not been shown to them; in short this was a case in which the Hindus could, and no doubt did say that they had scored. Very strong feeling was therefore easily aroused among the local Mahomedans, and on the morning of August 3rd a mob marched towards the mosque from a meeting held in connection with it, apparently with the intention of restoring the structure which had been removed. The *Kotwal*, himself a Mahomedan, with a few police attempted to prevent their approach and disperse the crowd, but he and his party were stoned and had to withdraw; eventually the District Magistrate, who was called to the scene, found it necessary to give orders to fire; twenty-three of the rioters were killed or died of wounds, and many were arrested and put upon their trial.

PRESS AGITATION

This incident aroused the greatest excitement amongst Mahomedans all over India. It was asserted on the one side and denied on the other that local Moslem opinion in Cawnpore had been excited by agitators from outside; however this may be, it is certain that Mahomedan excitement over the riot case was thoroughly worked up everywhere by agitators who had nothing to do with Cawnpore, such as Mohamed Ali, editor of the *Comrade* of Delhi, his brother Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad of Calcutta, Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore, and several others. The state of Mahomedan feeling may be judged from the fact that two of their leading newspapers, the *Comrade* of Delhi and the *Observer* of Lahore, described [381] a statement to the effect that there was comparatively little excitement in Cawnpore, appearing in a Government *communiqué* dated July 25th, as an "indirect incitement to agitation" and a "most effective taunt." The Mahomedan press was filled with long and acrimonious comments; one short specimen from a lengthy article on the riot in the issue dated August 16th, will illustrate the tone adopted by the *Comrade* :—

"Too high praise cannot be given to the Moltke and Napoleon of this great battle. And yet they made of war something even more tender than peace. When under their orders and their very eyes the vital thread of old men was severed, it was done with all the unctuous tenderness of a Moslem performing the *qurbani*. When young lads were shot at, they were potted with

the utmost care and at the shortest possible range so that the struggle for *nirvana* may be of the mildest. When boys of ten and twelve had to be passed on from this life to the life eternal, the journey was made as easy and swift for them as that of the Scotland Express from Euston. From life's glad history to death's dark mystery they were hurled without any interval of painful suspense or superfluous ceremony. The young were handled so lovingly and the old so kidglovingly that it won frank admiration from the bazar men and women. What astounded everybody was the proportion of the belligerents' casualties. While the enemy lost according to its own version a paltry score or so, it left on the field of battle more than a hundred of slain that, shrouded in the darkness of night and the sacks procured from the bazar, found a watery grave."

THE SANCTITY OF THE BATHING PLACE

There was a great controversy over the point whether the demolished structure was an integral part of the mosque. It was a small building which projected from the Eastern wall of the mosque, and consisted of a narrow raised platform 28 feet long by 9 broad, with a drain running through it and roofed over. The Government of the United Provinces, which supported the local authorities, remarked regarding the alleged sanctity of this erection that the best comment on this was the [382] fact that when the Chairman of the Municipal Board went to see it the Mahomedans who accompanied him entered it with their shoes on. The leaders of the agitation, on the other hand, alleged that it certainly was part of the mosque, that in any case the question whether it was so or not was one for Mahomedans alone to decide and that even if the trustees of the mosque had agreed to its demolition theirs was not the last word on the subject.

THE VICEROY'S DECISIONS

The rights and wrongs of the case were never decided in court, for on the 14th October 1913, the Viceroy himself proceeded to Cawnpore and, in the course of a reply to a deputation of Mahomedans, made the following announcements:--

"I have arrived at the decision that an arcade of at least eight feet in height should be built, upon which the *dalan* could be placed in the same relative position as before, but on a higher level, thereby securing space for the pavement below without

interfering with the relative position of the buildings pertaining to the mosque.

“I wish the sufferings of all those who are charged with having taken part in the riot to now cease, and I have, therefore, with the full consent of Sir James Meston and of Mr. Baillie, invited the Local Government to take immediate steps for the provisions of section 494 of the Criminal Procedure Code to be applied to all those connected with the riot who have been committed to the Court of Session for trial.”

(*Note.*— Sir D. C. Baillie was officiating as Lieutenant-Governor in the temporary absence of Sir James Meston in England.)

Over 100 persons had been committed for trial to the Court of Session in three separate cases arising out of the riot, and all three cases were withdrawn the same day.

A SEDITIOUS PICTURE

The picture which is reproduced here is an interesting illustration of the combination of politics and Hindu mythology which underlies the revolutionary movement. It was published in 1909 by Shridhar Waman Nagarkar [383] of Nasik, whose portrait is inset at the bottom of the picture, and was advertised in the seditious vernacular press. The following description is taken from a note prepared by Sir Charles Cleveland, who was taken looking into seditious organisations in the Central Provinces.

“The body of the picture is a cartoon of a well-known Hindu mythological picture which can be bought in the ordinary bazar and is found in many Hindus’ houses. The mythological story on which the cartoon is based is briefly as follows:— Brahma, the first divine ancestor of the Aryans, was the son of Vishnu, the creator, and had ten sons, one of whom, Marichi, was the father of Kashyap, who in turn was the father of the dreaded tyrant Hiranya Kashyapu. The latter had two sons Prahlad and Anuradh, of whom the former was devout and well-behaved, and in consequence hated and persecuted by his father, while the latter was ‘a very proud man’ and cohabited with a she-buffalo, the progeny being a terrible demon, the bovine monster Mahishasura. This demon was granted invincibility and fought, defeated and took the kingdom of the Devas or demigods, who then applied to Vishnu for help. Vishnu grew angry and from his mouth came out a very bright Devi. Similarly other Devis or Shaktis came out of the mouths of the Devas, and all

these Devis combined in the one many-armed and many-weaponed Devi Mahalakshmi (synonyms Chandi and Adi Shakti, etc.). She fought and conquered large numbers of evil demons, and last of all encountered Mahishasura with his army of satellite demons. The cartoon caricatures the fight between Mahalakshmi and her lion on the one side and Mahishasura and his demons on the other. In mythology the goddess conquers and restores the kingdom of earth to the hitherto discomfited and dispossessed Devas.

"The present cartoon of the above mythological story is as follows :— The Devi of the myth is labelled "Rashtriya Jagruti" (National Awakening) and is armed with the following weapons :—

A Sword labelled "Swadeshi".

A mace labelled "Aikya" (Unity).

[384] A knife labelled "Atma viswas" (Self-reliance) with which the goddess is stabbing the ape-faced demon labelled "Duble-pana" (Weakness).

A trident labelled "Svatantrya" (Self-Government) which the goddess has thrust into the mouth of a demon labelled "Par-tantrya" (Government by Others) who is attacking the goddess with a sword marked "124 and 153-A."

The lion or tiger is labelled "Bahishkar" (Boycott) and is attacking the bovine monster labelled "Pardeshi Vyapar" (Foreign Trade), on whose back the goddess has placed her foot after, apparently, cutting off its head. The demon near the several head of the monster is labelled "Vilayati Mal" (English Goods) and is being bitten in the arm by a snake labelled "Swabhiman" (Pride of Self), which is held in one of the hands of the heroine, while the same demon's head has been injured by the knife labelled "Svavalamban" (Self-dependence). The demon being held by the hair is labelled "Desh droha" (Disloyalty to country), while he is armed with a sword labelled "Fitur" (Treachery); the hand which holds his hair is labelled "Desh Seva" (Service of Country). The disengaged hand of the goddess holds aloft the disc or quoit marked "Swarajya."

The following is a list of the names under each of the portraits round the margin (the brackets show how abbreviations should be completed).

Top row from left to right.

1. Ba(rrister) Gandhi.
2. S(ayad) Hai(dar) Raza.
3. Lala Lajpat Rai.
4. Ba(l) Gan(gadhar) Tilak.
5. Bi(pin) Chan(dra) Pal.
6. Na(rsinh) Chin(taman) Kelkar.
7. Mustapha Pasha.

Bottom row from left to right.

8. Arabindo Ghose.
9. Barindra Ku(mar) Ghose [385].
10. Satyendra Bose.
11. Profulla Chaki.
12. Kanai Lal Dutt.
13. Da(modar) Chapekar.
14. Chidambar(am) Pillai.

Left upright, five inner portraits beginning at the top.

15. Su(rendra) Na(th) Banerjea.
16. Pro(fessor) Paranjpe.
17. Pro(fessor) Bijapurkar.
18. A(swini) Ku(mar) Dutt.
19. Ka(liprasanna) Kabyabisharad.

Right upright, five inner portraits from top to bottom.

20. De(shabhakta) Phadke.
21. Shri(man) Khaparde.
22. Dadabhai Naoroji.
23. Bra(hmo) Ban(dhab) Upadhyaya.
24. Pan(dit) Ma(dan) Mo(han) Malaviya.

With the exception of numbers 1, 7, 19, and 24, they are all mentioned elsewhere in this book; references will be found in the index. No. 1, Mr. Gandhi, is celebrated as the leader of the Indian passive resistance movement in South Africa, and has lately attained prominence again by championing the rights of the ryots of Bihar; No. 7, Mustapha Kamil Pasha was a prominent Egyptian Nationalist who died in 1908; No. 19, Kali Prasanna Kabyabisharad, was editor of the Nationalist paper *Hitabadi* of Calcutta and died in 1907; and No. 24, Pandit Madan Mohan

Malaviya, is a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Of the remainder, three have been hanged for political murders, D. H. Chapekar, Satyendra Nath Bose and Kanai Lal Dutt; one committed murder and suicide, Profulla Chaki; seven have been convicted of sedition and cognate offences, Barindra K. Ghose, B. G. Tilak, B. V. Phadke, Chidambaram Pillai, Bijapurkar, Paranjpe, and B. C. Pal; Lala Lajpatrai and Aswini Kumar Dutt were deported, Haidar Raza was bound over for making seditious speeches, N. C. Kelkar was convicted of contempt of court, and Brahma Bandhab Upadhyaya died while under trial for sedition as [386] editor of the *Sandhya*. There remain only Arabindeo Ghose, Surendranath Banerjea, editor of the *Bengalee*, G. S. Khaparde, Dadabhai Naoroji, the celebrated Congress leader lately deceased, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of Allahabad.

MAHOMEDAN AGITATION

DISTRIBUTION OF MAHOMEDANS

Taking the average for the whole of India, the Census of 1911 shows that, to a very close approximation, seven persons out of every ten are Hindus, two are Mahomedan and one is a follower of some other religion. (The actual figures per 10,000 of the population are Hindu, 6,939; Mahomedan, 2,126; Buddhist, 342, practically all in Burma; Christian, 124; Sikh, 96; Jain, 40. 328 are aborigines whose religion is returned as animistic). The Mahomedans are not of course equally distributed; in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan 9 men out of every 10 are Mussulman, and in the Punjab and Bengal every second man, in Bombay one out of five, and in the United Provinces one out of seven is a Mahomedan.

MAHOMEDANS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Though persistent endeavours were made by the Hindu agitators, from 1907 onwards, to induce Mahomedans to join the revolutionary movement, they with a few insignificant exceptions, consistently held aloof. In fact most phases of the Hindu movement were anti-Moslem; the Partition agitation in Bengal, as already pointed out, was largely a question of Hindu or Mahomedan supremacy (see page 5), and in the West of India Shivaji movement, on account of its historical association, was equally

distasteful to Mahomedans. The war between Italy and Turkey, however, which began in 1911, led to a certain amount of Moslem feeling against Government, for it was considered, out of deference to their religious susceptibilities, the British Government might have backed Turkey in the war.

CAUSES OF UNREST

The reversal of the Partition of Bengal, announced at Delhi in December, 1911, deeply affected the Mahomedans in two ways; in the first place they lost what promised to be [387] a Mahomedan province, and in the second place it appeared to them that the violent methods of the Hindu agitators had proved successful; thus they were supplied both with a grievance and with a bad example. The Balkan War, which declared in October, 1912, was a still more serious matter, and led to a great deal of bitterness on the subject of the Cross *versus* the Crescent, which the published remarks of prominent statesmen in England did not tend to allay.

MAHOMEDAN GRIEVANCES

The religious veneration which most Indian Moslems profess for the Sultan of Turkey as Khalif of Islam is discussed in Chapter X (see page 296); accordingly the situation which arose early in 1913 was summed up neatly in the remark made in the course of a speech by Mahomed Ali, at a large meeting held at Lahore on January 28th, that "They held the cup of loyalty in one hand, and the hammer of religion in the other." A few days later, at a very large meeting held in Calcutta, Abul Kalam Azad, the editor of a pan-Islamic paper called the *Al-Hilal*, declared in an impassioned speech that brought tears to the eyes of many, that this was a time of trial of their faith, and that the war in the Balkans was a war between the Crescent and the Cross. At this meeting the following was one of the resolutions passed:—

"This meeting expresses its deep sense of disappointment of the policy hitherto followed by Great Britain, the greatest Mahomedan Power, namely, that it has not shown any respect for the feeling of the ten (seven?) crores of its loyal Moslem subjects."

THE KHUDDAM-I-KAABA

Practical sympathy with Turkey had already been shown by the despatch to Europe of a Medical Mission under Dr. Ansari

of Delhi in December, 1912, and in order further to strengthen and organise Mahomedan effort a society called the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* (Society of Servants of the Kaaba, the Holy shrine at Mecca) was formed a few months later. The original scheme was first published in the *Al-Hilal* of Calcutta, dated April 23rd, under the signature of Mushir Hussain Quidwai, a barrister of Lucknow; the idea, as well as the name of the [388] new society, appears to have been borrowed from the Servants of India Society founded in 1905 by the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale. The original scheme proposed that every member should take a vow promising, amongst other things, not to disclose any secret of the society, and to be ready to give life and property for the safety of Mecca and Medina. At first, therefore, it was intended to be a secret society; but this feature was dropped, and when it was formed at Lucknow in May, 1913, the published rules required a member, on joining, to take the following oath:—

“I, son of so and so, in the presence of God and after repentance for my past sins, with the *Kalima** on my lips and facing the *Kaaba*, solemnly affirm that I shall try with my whole heart to maintain the respect of the *Kaaba*, and shall sacrifice my life and property to defend it against non-Muslim aggressors. I shall fully carry out the orders of the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* given to me.”

It was further laid down that those who were ready to sacrifice their lives, property, and honour, at the direction of God, and in the interests of the *Kaaba*, and desired to become volunteers, should take the following oath:—

“I, etc., etc., solemnly affirm that I have given up my life for the service of God. I must now serve the *Kaaba* only and maintain the respect of the *Kaaba*. The orders of the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* will be my most responsible duty, which I shall always be ready to carry out with my heart and soul, and without any objection or delay. I will, without delay or objection, start for any destination to which I may be ordered; no difficulty will keep me back. With this solemn promise I enter into the society of *Shedaian-i-Kaaba* (Devotees of the *Kaaba*), swearing for a second time by my God and my Prophet, the Qoran, my religion, and my honour, to remain faithful to the above promise.”

*The Moslem confession of faith: “There is no god but God; Mahomed is the Prophet of God.”

GROWTH OF BETTER FEELING

The president of the new society was Maulvi Abdul Bari, and the secretaries Mushir Hussain Qidwai of Lucknow, and Shaukat Ali of Rampur, the [389] brother of Mohamed Ali. During the year 1913 all three went on lecturing tours in order to obtain recruits for the society, and as time went on the rules received some modification for the better. In the *Muslim Gazette* of 9th July, it was announced, in an article by Shaukat Ali, that the oath required from ordinary members of the society had been changed into promise, and that the words "sacrifice their lives and property" had been altered to read "give all possible help." Printed leaflets distributed at a meeting of the *Anjuman* in October, 1913, indicated a further improvement; according to them members of the society were required to procure funds for the protection of Islam and its sacred traditions; to work for the spread of religious and secular education; to introduce social reforms among Mahomedans; to promote unity between the different communities; and finally to impress upon Mahomedans the advantage of loyalty to Government and obedience to its laws.

TURKEY DECLARES WAR

These modifications indicate that a marked change for the better was taking place in the Moslem attitude towards Government which was only temporarily checked by the factitious agitation, got up mainly by Mohamed Ali, over the Cawnpore Mosque Case. The settlement of that unfortunate incident, and the conclusion of peace in the Balkans led to still further improvement, and, with the exception of efforts on the part of a few who depended for their livelihood on promoting agitation, such as Zafar Ali Khan of the *Zemindar* newspaper of Lahore, harmony was gradually being restored when, in November, 1914, Turkey joined in the war.

INTERNMENT OF AGITATORS

The developments in the direction of conspiracy against Government to which this led, both in India and abroad, are briefly sketched in Chapter X (see page 296). Towards the end of 1914 some of the more objectionable Mahomedan newspapers, such as the *Zemindar* of Lahore and the *Al-Hilal* of Calcutta, which have been already mentioned, were suppressed by means

of the Press Act, as well as Mohamed Ali's two papers published in Delhi, and *Comrade* in English and the *Hamdard* in Urdu. The passing [390] of the Defence of India Act in March, 1915, made it possible to restrict the liberties of those who had tried to turn the naturally wounded feelings of Mahomedans against the Government; prominent amongst them were the following four agitators who are mentioned above, Mohamed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and Zafar Ali Khan.

WHO'S WHO

The following is a list of prominent political agitators, and of those who have taken a leading part in revolutionary work in India and abroad. It cannot be regarded as exhaustive; a complete list for Bengal alone would run over two thousand names. The principle of selection followed has been to pick out those who have attracted most attention in the past, or are likely to come to notice again. Further references to persons mentioned here will frequently be found in the index, particularly, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, in the case of those whose early history and recent doings have been described at considerable length in the foregoing chapters.

ABBAS ALI SHAH, Sayed, *alias* **ABBAS ALI, BOKHARI**. Born about 1883, son of Sayed Mahmud Shah, Bokhari, of Peshawar City. He is a descendant of a Mahomedan saint named Hazarat Sayed Karim Shah, Bokhari, whose shrine is near the city railway station at Peshawar. Owing to an illness in 1905 he has been weak in the head ever since. In 1908 he went to England to study medicine which he did at Edinburgh University and Balliol College, Oxford. He returned to India in 1910. In 1912 he took an interest in Turkish affairs; he began to collect subscriptions for the relief of Arabs and Turks, and organised a branch of the Red Crescent Society. He then became a prominent if rather eccentric pan-Islamist agitator. From June to December 1915, he was confined in the Lahore Lunatic Asylum at his father's request, and he was released on security as he seemed to have recovered. His conduct again became extravagant and troublesome, and he was arrested at Peshawar in January, 1917, and released after 3 days on a promise to go to Cambellpur and stay there. His entry into the North-West Frontier Province was prohibited under the Defence of India Act. He then went to Delhi and Peshawar and was again arrested there on February 2nd, 1917. On his release in the following month he went to Independent Territory; he joined a party of Turks in Tirah and tried to stir up the Afridis and afterwards proceeded to Kabul where he was in May, 1917. He has a very exaggerated idea of his own importance, and is likely to have considerable influence with fanatical tribesmen, especially as he is rather mad [392].

ABDUL BARI, Maulvi. Born about 1876, son of Maulvi Abdul Wahab, Shaikh of Firanghi Mahal, Lucknow. He is a learned man in Arabic and Persian and has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca three times. He became prominent as a pan-Islamist in 1911, in the agita-

tion which arose over the Turko-Italian War, and in May, 1913, he was appointed president of the *Khuddam-i-Kaaba* (Servants of the Kaaba) with the humble title of *Khadim-ul-Khuddam* (Servant of the servants). In connection with the Cawnpore Mosque case he made very objectionable speeches, and in 1914 he associated with a certain Hafiz Wahabi who came to India at the end of 1913 as an emissary of the Egyptian Nationalists. In 1915 letters by Abdul Bari were published in the *Hamdard* of Delhi in which he refuted a religious pronouncement that had appeared against the participation of Mahomedans in a *jihad* (Religious War). In 1917 it was reported that he was losing his influence with the Mahomedans of the United Provinces.

ABU SAID EL ARABI, Maulvi. This person's real name is Mahomed Yusuf and he was born about 1872, son of Maulvi Nek Alam Gujar, an *Imam* (Mahomedan priest) belonging to Gujrat district, Punjab. In 1911 he went to Egypt, and in March, 1912, he was heard of as associating with leading Nationalists there. After a visit to Constantinople he returned to Egypt, and contributed to the *Al Shaab* a very strong pan-Islamic article, in which he appealed to the Mahomedan world to unite against Europe. He seems to have attracted considerable attention to himself, for he is stated to have been treated with the greatest deference in Nationalist circles in Egypt as a leader of a widespread movement in India against the English, hatred of whom he openly avowed. In 1913 he met Zafar Ali Khan in Egypt, and openly expressed admiration for his work. In 1914 he was in Constantinople, and was employed on the staff of the *Jehan-i-Islam*, the first number of which appeared in India in May, 1914. On account of its objectionable pan-Islamic tone the importation of this paper into India was prohibited in August, 1914. (See also page 298.)

ACHARJI, BAIKUNTA NATH. Born about 1881, son of Radha Charan Acharji, Brahmin, of Kishorganj, Mymensingh district, and No. 65, Mechua Bazar, Calcutta. As printer and publisher of the *Yugantar* he was convicted and sentenced on 16th January, 1908, to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code.

ACHARJI, PRIYA NATH. Born about 1888, son of Kali Charan Acharji, of Banori, Bengal. He appeared in the F. A. Examination in Calcutta in 1910, but failed to pass. He entered the Sonarang National School as a teacher in July, 1910, and was prosecuted in April, 1911, and convicted in the Sonarang postal peon's theft and assault case, and sentenced to 4 months' rigorous imprisonment. The sentence was reduced to one month in appeal. He pleaded guilty, in the Barisal conspiracy case, to a charge under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and was sentenced to 7 years' transportation on 22nd January, 1914. [393].

ACHARJI, ROMESH CHANDRA, *alias* KALI DAS ROY. Born about 1891, son of Kali Prasanna Acharji of Banori, Bengal. He passed the F. A. Examination in the year 1910 from the Ananda Mohan College, Mymensingh, and then entered the Sonarang National School as a teacher. He was prosecuted in April, 1911, in the postal peon's assault and theft case, and sentenced to 4 months' rigorous imprisonment under section 147, Indian Penal Code, but acquitted in appeal. He was

arrested on the 6th June, 1911 in suspicious circumstances along with one J. C. Chakravarti, close to the house of a wealthy Mahomedan at Chandpur, Mymensingh district. He was prosecuted under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code, and ordered to furnish a bond of Rs. 1,000 and two securities of Rs. 500 each, to be of good behaviour for one year, or in default one year's rigorous imprisonment. On 4th January, 1912, on appeal to the High Court, the sentence was set aside. He was also suspected in connection with a find of arms and ammunition as Sonarang in 1911. He pleaded guilty, in the Barisal conspiracy case, to a charge under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code, and was sentenced to 12 years' transportation on 22nd January, 1914.

AIYAR, GURUNATHA. Born about 1878, a Brahmin of Sennakulam, Madras. He was an employee of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai and took a prominent part in the Tinnevely riots of 1908 for which he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. He was released in June, 1913.

AIYAR, K. V. PADMANABHA. Born about 1892, son of Vythilinga Aiyar of Coimbatore district. He ran away from home to Benares where he studied in the Central Hindu College, and in December, 1912, he sailed from Tuticorin for America *via* Colombo and Japan. At Berkeley, California, he became one of the most active members of Har Dayal's *Ghadr* (Mutiny) society, and took the place of the latter at a lecture in the Jefferson Square Hall, San Francisco.

AIYAR, NILAKANTA, alias NILAKANTA BRAHMACHARI, alias NARAYAN GOVIND DUBAI. Born about 1890, son of Sivarama Krishna Aiyar of Erukkur, Madras. From 1908 to 1911 he travelled in the Madras Presidency delivering nationalist and seditious lectures. He was a member of the Tinnevely Conspiracy and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in that case.

AIYAR, SHANKARA KRISHNA. Born about 1889, son of Swami Aiyar of Krishnapuram, Madras. He was a close associate of his brother-in-law Vanchi Aiyar who assassinated Mr. Ashe, Collector of Tinnevely, in June, 1911, and is believed to have been present at the time of the murder. He was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in the Tinnevely Conspiracy case.

AIYAR, VARAGANERI VENKATESA SUBRAMANIA. Born about 1875, son of Venkatesa Aiyar of Trichinopoly. He went to England in 1908 to read for the bar and here became V. D. Savarkar's right-hand man and a prominent advocate of assassination. An account of his connection with the Tinnevely conspiracy will be found at page 200. (See index).

AJIT SINGH alias MIRZA HASSAN KHAN. Born about 1878, son of Arjan Singh, Jat Sikh of Jullundur, Punjab. He [394] moved to Lahore in 1895, becoming an Urdu Munshi (teacher of languages), and in 1906 one of his pupils was a Russian suspect named Laseef. He came to notice in 1907 as a very prominent agitator, and was a leading member of the *Bharat Mata* Society. He joined Lajpat Rai, Kishen Singh and others in their seditious propaganda, some of his speeches inciting to murder. He was deported to Mandalay in May, 1907, and released in November, at Lahore. He did not remain in-

active long, and in 1909, with the help of Sufi Amba Parshad, he began to issue a steady stream of seditious literature. Fearing a prosecution he absconded in the Autumn of this year and fled with Amba Parshad to Persia. In 1911 he proceeded to Europe, and set up as a teacher of Oriental Languages at Lausanne, and afterwards at Geneva. He described himself as a Persian and adopted the name Mirza Hassan Khan. At the end of 1913 he went on to Paris, but he did not get much help from the revolutionary party there as they had not much use for him at the time. In September, 1914, he left Paris and proceeded *viâ* Senegal to Rio de Janerio, carrying a message to Jodh Singh Mahajan that he was wanted for revolutionary work in Berlin. In October, 1916, he wrote to Bhagwan Singh, of the *Ghadr* party, saying he was coming to San Francisco to join them, but apparently he did not do so.

AMAR NATH. Born about 1885, son of Lachmi Dhar, Brahmin, of Hoshiarpur. In 1907 he was prosecuted for exploiting a bogus political society. He has been concerned in several seditious movements, and has more than once offered his services unsuccessfully as an informer.

AMBEDKAR, RAGHUNATH CHINTAMAN. Born about 1891, son of Chintaman Ambedkar, Brahmin, a mendicant priest of the temple of Rama in Bombay. He was a minor member of the Nasik Conspiracy, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

APERAJIT, KESHAV SITARAM. Born about 1885, son of Sitaram Apcrajit, Maratha Brahmin of Nagpur, Central Provinces. He was educated at the Neil City High School, Nagpur, and expelled in September, 1907, for greeting the Inspector of Schools with shouts of "Bande Mataram" when he visited the school. He joined the Margao Institute, Goa, as a student in January, 1908, and was arrested on a charge of bomb making at Margao, but subsequently released. In 1913 he was manager of *Swadeshi* shop at Chhindwara, Central Provinces.

APTE, DAJI NAGESH. Born about 1883, son of Nagesh Apte, Chitpawan Brahmin of Baroda and Poona. He was expelled from the Fergusson College, Poona, in 1906 for participating in the seditious movement. He was a friend of V. D. Savarkar and became a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society. He was the writer of the article in the *Bhala* newspaper for which the editor was convicted (see page 105), and author of a book proscribed by the Bombay Government in 1912.

BAGCHI, ASHUTOSH, of Bakarganj, Bengal. As printer and publisher of the "Barisal Hitaishi" newspaper he was prosecuted [395] under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, for the appearance of certain seditious articles in the paper, and sentenced to 4 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 or in default an additional 2 months' rigorous imprisonment, on 12th December, 1907.

BANERJEA, SURENDRANATH B.A. Born about 1848; he was educated in Calcutta and became a B.A. in 1868. He proceeded to England, passed into the Indian Civil Service, and came out to India in 1871; he was posted to Sylhet district. In 1873 he was reported to Government for serious misconduct, the Judges of the High Court hold-

ing that he was unfit for the exercise of any judicial powers. A commission was accordingly appointed and 14 charges framed. He was found guilty of "falsehood and of a palpable abuse of his judicial powers" and the Secretary of State directed his removal from the service. (Despatch of 31st March, 1874.) He was given a compassionate allowance of Rs. 50 a month.

He took a very prominent part in the agitation against the Partition of Bengal (see page 5) and in the boycott; it was at a meeting held on 17th July, 1905, in the Ripon College, which was founded by him, that the boycott movement was inaugurated in Bengal. He is best known as editor of the *Bengalee* newspaper of Calcutta; he is also a very good speaker in English, with an excellent voice and a fluent delivery, and both as a speaker and as a writer he exercised great influence over the student community. He is believed to have been one of the most important originators of the trouble in Bengal, but when things became serious he was accused by the extremists of want of courage and thrown over by them, and he has always described himself as a moderate. The introduction to the book "Sikher Balidan" which was one of the most popular books in the Anusilan Samiti Library was written by him (see page 59). He has been a member of the Legislative Councils both of Bengal and of India. (see Index).

BANERJI, BARINDRA NATH. Born about 1877, son of Saroda Prasad Banerji, Brahmin, of Akalposh, Burdwan district. As printer of the *Yugantar* he was convicted on 14th August, 1908, and sentenced to years' rigorous imprisonment. Resides in Calcutta and French Chandernagore and is a member of the Chandernagore group of revolutionaries.

BANERJI, BASANTA KUMAR. Born about 1883, of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. He was a member of the Maniktolla conspiracy, and is believed to have known how to make bombs. He is a prominent member of the Chandernagore group of revolutionaries.

BANERJI, GOPENDRA NATH. Born about 1883, son of Rama Nath Banerji, Brahmin, of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. He is a brother of Upendra Nath Banerji, who was convicted in the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and he was formerly a sub-inspector of police but dismissed. He is a member of the Chandernagore group of revolutionaries.

BANERJI, JITENDRA NATH. Born about 1887, son of Radhika Chandra Banerji. Residence Ramchandranagar, Midnapore and Calcutta. He was a member of the Midnapore branch [396] of the Maniktolla Conspiracy and a friend of Hem Chandra Das who made over to him papers relating to the manufacture of explosives.

BANERJI, JOTINDRA NATH, *alias* Niralamba Brahmachari. Born about 1878, son of Kalidas Banerji, of Channa, Burdwan district. He was a very important member of the Maniktolla revolutionary party (see page 152).

BANERJI, KHAGENDRA NATH. Born about 1887, son of Rati Kanta Banerji. He is an old member of the *Yugantar* gang, and was arrested in connection with the murder of Head Constable S. Chakravarti.

BANERJI, KHETRA MOHAN. Born about 1885, son of Tincowrie Banerji of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. He was a pupil of

Upendra Nath Banerji of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and a member of the French Chandernagore gang of revolutionaries.

BANERJI, MANIK LAL. Born about 1888, son of Sirish Chandra Banerji of Rangpur district. He was arrested in connection with a plot to murder the headmaster of the Nilphamari (Rangpur) High School but released. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and an absconder in the Dacca Conspiracy case.

BANERJI, NORENDRA NATH. Born about 1882, son of Nitya Gopal Banerji of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. He was arrested in connection with the Dalhousie Square bomb case, but discharged for want of evidence. He is a member of the Chandernagore gang of revolutionaries.

BANERJI, NORENDRA NATH. Born about 1886, son of Ramnath Banerji of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. He is a brother of Upendra Nath Banerji, of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and a prominent member of the Chandernagore gang.

BANERJI, PRASANNA KUMAR. Born about 1884, son of Rajendra Nath Banerji of Calcutta. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy and visited in jail Charu Chandra Roy and other prisoners in this case when they were under trial. He is suspected of having had a hand in smuggling into jail the revolver with which the approver was murdered.

BANERJI, RADHIKA BHUSAN. Born about 1888, son of Piyari Mohan Banerji, Rupganj, Bengal. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted in appeal to High Court.

BANERJI, ROMESH CHANDRA. Born about 1886, son of Prasanna Chandra Banerji of Bidgaon in the Dacca district. He was convicted at Comilla in March, 1913, and sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment for attempted dacoity.

BANERJI, SACHINDRA MOHAN. Born about 1888, son of Mon Mohan Banerji of Munshiganj, Dacca district. He is known to have been in correspondence with the captain of the Anusilan Samiti in Mymensingh, and was an associate of dangerous characters in Dacca. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case but acquitted in appeal to the High Court [397].

BANERJI, SURENDRA NATH. Born about 1887. of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. He is a brother of Upendra Nath Banerji of the Maniktolla Conspiracy case, and a prominent member of the Chandernagore gang.

BANERJI, TARA PADA, alias TARA KHEPA. Born about 1868, of Nawadwip, Nadia district, Bengal. He dresses as a Sanyasi (devotee) and is a political conspirator of a dangerous type.

BANERJI, UPENDRA NATH. Born about 1879, son of Ramnath Banerji of Gondalpara, French Chandernagore. He was sentenced to transportation for life in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case (see page 145).

BANIKYA, DEBENDRA CHANDRA. Born about 1891, son of Krishna Chandra Banikya of Narainganj, Dacca. In March, 1913, he was sentenced at Comilla to seven years' rigorous imprisonment for attempted

dacoity, and in January, 1914, he was convicted in the Barisal Conspiracy case and sentenced to two years' imprisonment under section 121A, Indian Penal Code.

BAPAT, GOVIND PANDURANG. A Chitpawan Brahmin, born about 1888, son of Pandurang Bapat, of Poona. He knows how to make bombs, and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Kolhapur bomb case.

BAPAT, GOVIND SIDASHIV. A Konkanasth Brahmin, born about 1880, son of Sidashiv Bapat, resident of the Bhor State and of Poona. He was concerned in the Abhinav Bharat Society of Nasik, but was acquitted in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

BAPAT, PANDURANG MAHADEV. A Chitpawan Brahmin born about 1880, son of Mahadev Bapat of Barner in the Ahmednagar district. He was sent to England to study in 1904, and went to Edinburgh. On the 14th January, 1906, he read an essay on "British Rule in India" in Shepherd's Hall, India Buildings, Victoria Street, Edinburgh. He subsequently published this essay, which was very disloyal in tone in pamphlet form and for this his scholarship was forfeited. In May, 1907, he arrived in Paris, and went to stay with D. H. Varma at 51, rue Richer. He then moved to 60 rue de Dantzig, where he put up for a short time with Hem Chandra Das, Mirza Abbas and Subodh Chandra Bose. Afterwards he went to live at 46, rue Blanche, the residence of S. R. Rana, and was there till February, 1908. He gave out that he was a student of chemistry, and during his stay in Paris he was in constant touch with the Russian anarchist Nicholas Safranski, from whom he obtained a Russian work on explosives which he copied. This the same bomb manual of which a copy was found in the Maniktolla garden. In March 1908, Bapat left Paris and returned to India. He is believed to have gone first to Calcutta, where he joined the Maniktolla gang. A warrant was issued for his arrest, and on June 23rd his name was mentioned by a witness in court. Hearing of this in Poona on June 25th he sent his wife to her home in Kalyan and then, after apparently visiting Parnar, disappeared; he was not traced till December, 1912. He is revolutionary of neurotic temperament with a very unstable and illbalanced mind.

BARAKATULLAH, MAHOMED. Born about 1864, son of Munshi Shaikh Kadratullah, who was employed in the service of [398] Bhopal State. An account of his early career will be found at page 132, and other references in the index.

BARORI, LALIT MOHAN. Born about 1883, son of Pran Bandhu Barori of Sonarang, Dacca district. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti, and a teacher in the notorious Sonarang National School. He was suspected in the Fatehjangpur (Faridpur) murder case of 1909, and in the Sonarang murder cases of 1911.

BARVE, BALWANT RAMCHANDRA. Born about 1888, son of Ramchandra Barve of Kothura, Nasik District. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case, and in 1911 he was convicted under the Arms Act and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment.

BARVE, NARAYAN SHIVRAM. Born about 1866; belongs to the Ratnagiri District. A dangerous extremist who went about the country working up the anti-kine-killing agitation. In August, 1909, he was bound over at Dharwar under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. He was afterwards concerned in the Khandesh Conspiracy case, and was in touch with the extremists in Ratnagiri District.

BARVE, SHANKAR LAKSHMAN. Born about 1890, son of Lakshman Barve of Baroda. In an affray with some sepoys of the 94th Infantry at Baroda he shot one man dead and wounded another; for this he was tried but acquitted. He was deported from Baroda, and in October, 1912, he was placed under surveillance for one year in Kathiawar.

BARVE, TATYA SHRIDHAR, *alias* WAMAN. Born about 1885, son of Shridhar Barve of Kothura, Nasik District. In 1909 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for sedition, and again in March, 1911, to three years under the Arms Act, which was reduced in appeal by the High Court to 1½ years in July, 1911.

BARVE, VINAYAK NARHAR. Born about 1885, son of Narhar Barve of Kothura, Nasik District. He was a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society of Nasik and was convicted under section 408, Indian Penal Code and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, but acquitted in appeal.

BASISTHA, JATINDRA CHANDRA. Son of Raj Mohan Basistha of Madhyapara, Dacca District. He was implicated in the robbery of a party of dancing girls at Narayanganj in 1909, and in the Rajendrapur train dacoity the same year, and is considered a dangerous criminal.

BASISTHA, MADHU SUDHAN. Born about 1891: the brother of Jitendra Chandra Basistha. He was arrested in connection with the robbery of a party of dancing girls, but acquitted.

BHADURI, SURANATH. Son of Somnath Bhaduri, of Benares. He was a member of the Benares branch of the Calcutta revolutionary society and a close associate of Pandit Mokhoda Charan Samadhyaya.

BHAT, NARAYAN SHRIDHAR. Son of Shridhar Bhat, Brahmin, of Buldana District, Central Province. In March, 1909, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for breaking into the Government School at Pulsi Budruk (Buldana), defacing the [399] pictures of the King and Queen, and tearing up the picture of Queen Victoria.

BHAT, VISHNU MAHADEV, B.A. Born about 1885, son of Mahadev Bhat, Chitpawan Brahmin of Nasik. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

BHATTACHARJI, ABINASH CHANDRA. Born about 1883, son of Uma Chandra Bhattacharji, of Arbelia, 24-Parganas. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy and sentenced, as such, to seven years' transportation. (See index).

BHATTACHARJI, BAIDYA NATH. Born about 1890, son of Jadu Nath Bhattacharji of Khulna District. In October, 1910, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the Mahisa dacoity case (Jessore District).

BHATTACHARJI, BASANTA KUMAR. Born about 1883, son of Sashi Bhusan Bhattacharji of the 24-Parganas District. As printer of

the *Yugantar* he was sentenced in September, 1907, to two years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000.

BHATTACHARJI, BASUDEV. Born about 1885, son of Sarada Prasad Bhattacharji, Head Pandit of Chakdighi School, Burdwan. He was expelled from school for taking leading part in boycotting foreign goods. He joined the staff of the *Sandhya* and was prosecuted as editor of the seditious *Sonar Bangla* and sentenced in July, 1907, to a fine of Rs. 150 or four months' imprisonment. He went to England in August, 1908, and in February, 1909, he assaulted Sir William Lee Warner in the Street. He was bound over for six months, but refused to give security and elected to go to prison. In October, 1909, he went to New York, and afterwards became a student at the Chicago University.

BHATTACHARJI, BHAGBATI CHARAN. Born about 1888, son of U. C. Bhattacharji, of Khulna District. In October, 1910, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the Mahisa dacoity (Jessore District).

BHATTACHARJI, BHOLA NATH, alias BHOLA CHAKRAVARTI, alias AMRITA LAL. Born about 1891 of Kanaki Nath Bhattacharji, of Akurthakur, Bengal. He was a member of the Akurthakur Surhid Samiti, and sentenced in 1910 to two years' imprisonment in a political gang case.

BHATTACHARJI, GIRENDRA CHANDRA, alias AKHILESWAR. Born about 1886, son of Prasanna Chandra Bhattacharji, of Palong, Faridpur District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, in which he used the *alias* Akhileswar, and was suspected in several dacoity cases. He was prosecuted in connection with two, but acquitted. When his house was searched in 1911 a copy of the Samiti rules was found together with some objectionable literature.

BHATTACHARJI, KAMINI. Born about 1883, belongs to Munshiganj, Dacca District. In 1909 he was sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment in the Narayanganj stabbing case.

BHATTACHARJI, MONORANJAN. Born about 1885, son of Nabin Chandra Bhattacharji, of Kamarkhara, Rajabari, Bengal. He was headmaster of the notorious Sonarang National School, and afterwards in 1913 of the Chandpur National School. [400] He was implicated in the Barrah dacoity in 1908, and reported to have planned other dacoities. His name was on the list found in possession of V. D. Savarkar when he was arrested in London in 1910.

BHATTACHARJI, NORENDRA NATH. Born about 1885, son of Tara Prasanna Bhattacharji, of Bhatpara, 24-Parganas. As leader of a gang which committed bomb outrages on the Eastern Bengal State Railway he was bound over for three years under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code, in July 1910.

BHATTACHARJI, NORENDRA NATH, alias C. A. MARTIN. Born about 1888, son of Dina Bandhu Bhattacharji of Chingripota, Bengal. He was suspected in the Chingripota dacoity case and prosecuted in the Howrah gang case but acquitted. He took a prominent part in the German plot to send arms to India *via* Batavia (see page 277).

BHATTACHARJI, SATYENDRA NATH. Son of Braja Kumar Bhattacharji, of Rangpur District. In January, 1909, seditious papers and

formulæ for making explosives were found in his house. He was a member of the conspiracy to kill the headmaster of the Nilphamari High School (Rangpur). In December, 1909, he was bound down for three years under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code.

BHAUMIK, MADAN MOHAN. Born about 1889, son of Kailash Chandra Bhaumik, of Keraniganj, Dacca District. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca and an absconder in the Barisal Conspiracy case. He was arrested in September, 1914, and sentenced in the supplementary case in November, 1915, to 10 years' transportation. His appeal was dismissed by the High Court.

BHAVE, NARHAR VITHAL. Born about 1883, son of Vithal Bhave, Chitpawan Brahmin of Amraoti, Central Provinces. He edited the *Hari Kishore* newspaper of Amraoti. In August, 1908, at Nagpur, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for sedition which was reduced in appeal to three years. He afterwards went to Bombay and took up his residence at Mangaldas Wadi.

BHAVE, RAGHUNATH VIDYADHAR. Born about 1883, Chitpawan Brahmin of Purandhar, Poona District. He was a member of the Nasik Conspiracy and was sentenced in December, 1910, to four years' imprisonment in connection with it.

BHOPATKAR, BHASKAR BALWANT, B.A., LL.B. Born about 1874, son of Balwant Bhopatkar, of Arvi and Poona. He was proprietor of the *Bhala* press and newspaper (see page 105). In February, 1906, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for sedition by the High Court of Bombay.

BHOPATKAR, LAKSHMAN BALWANT. Brother of the above, born about 1879. He translated into Marathi the speeches of Bepin Chandra Pal, a book which was afterwards forfeited. He is an extremist like his brother.

BHOSEKAR, KRISHNAJI DATTATRYA. Born about 1884, son of Dattatrya Bhoosekar of Dwarka. He was a student of chemistry in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay, and [401] in 1910 he was found travelling with a box containing explosive materials. He was prosecuted for being in possession of materials intended for bomb-making but discharged. He is an extremist and a friend of P. M. Bapat.

BIJAPUKAR, VISHNU GOVIND, M.A. Born about 1895 son of Govind Bijapurkar, Deshasth Brahmin, of Talegaon Dhabade, Poona District. He was superintendent of the *Samarth Vidyalaya*, a national school at Talegaon which came under considerable suspicion. In January, 1909, he was convicted at Kolhapur under sections 302, 115 and 124A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or six months.

BISHESHWAR NATH, alias KEWALANAND. Born about 1883, son of Ralla Ram of Peshawar. In 1907 he was bound over for a year for sedition, and in 1909 in Delhi he was associated with Ram Chandra Peshawari, then editor of the seditious paper *Akash*. He then went to Haridwar and became a *sadhu* (ascetic) taking the name of Swami Kewalanand. He is one of the dangerous type of wandering political *sadhus*, and is believed to understand the manufacture of bombs.

BISWAS, SOSHIL CHANDRA. Born about 1886, son of Govinda Chandra Biswas, of Mirpur, Nadia District. He was sentenced to six years' rigorous imprisonment in the Haludbari dacoity case, and afterwards in April, 1911, to two years more in the Howrah gang case.

BORSE, NARAYAN TUKARAM. Born about 1888, son of Tukaram Borse, Maratha, of Nasik. He was a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society and in February, 1909, he was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment under the Arms Act.

BOSE, ASWINI KUMAR. Born about 1882, son of Kalipada Bose, of Basundia, Jessore District. In August, 1910, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation in the Nangla Conspiracy case.

BOSE, BHUPATI CHARAN. Born about 1864, son of Uma Charan Bose, of Calcutta. He was an associate of Kartik Dutta of the *Yugantar* gang and of Pandit Mokhoda Charan Samadhayaya, and was one of the older organisers of revolutionary work. He was an agent of a German firm in Calcutta.

BOSE, BIDHU BHUSAN. Born about 1875, son of Jadu Nath Bose of Bistupur, Khulna District. In March, 1910, he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the *Pallichitra* sedition case.

BOSE, CHANDI CHARAN. Born about 1889, son of Tarini Charan Bose, of Bakarganj District. In January, 1914, he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment under section 121A, Indian Penal Code, in the Barisal Conspiracy case.

BOSE, DEBABRATA. Born about 1879, son of Ashutosh Bose, of Calcutta. He was prosecuted as a member of the Maniktolla conspiracy, but acquitted. He is a member of the Ramkrishna Mission, and frequently resides at Belur Math (see page 216).

BOSE, GNYANENDRA NATH. Son of Jogendra Kumar Bose of Barisal. He was a member of the Jubak Mandali, and sentenced [402] in August, 1910, to six months' rigorous imprisonment under section 124A, Indian Penal Code, in connection with one of the *Yugantar* leaflets.

BOSE, NAYA RANJAN. Born about 1892, son of Janaki Nath Bose, of Dacca District. In March, 1913, at Comilla he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for attempted dacoity, and his appeal was dismissed by the High Court.

BOSE NORENDRA NATH Born about 1888, son of Kali Krishna Bose, of Calcutta. In 1907 he was bound down under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, at Jamalpur. He was suspected in connection with the Netra Dacoity and the murder of Sub-Inspector Nando Lal Banerji.

BOSE, SACHINDRA PRASAD. Born about 1880, son of Baroda Shankar Bose, of Jessore and Calcutta. He is a good speaker and was a very prominent agitator in the early days, supporting the boycott in strong language and organising Volunteer societies. In 1908 he took a leading part in establishing the Calcutta branch of the *Anusilan Samiti*. He was one of the nine agitators deported in December, 1908.

BOSE, SAILENDRA NATH. Born about 1888, son of Kedar Nath Bose, of Arbelia, Bengal. He was convicted in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

BOSE, SUBODH CHANDRA. Born about 1891, son of Abhoy Chandra Bose, of Midnapore. He was a friend of Hem Chandra Das of the Maniktolla gang, who also came from Midnapore, and he was a member of the Midnapore branch of that conspiracy. He was in Paris along with Hem Chandra Das, and in 1908, he went on to America, returning to India *viâ* Paris where he associated with the revolutionary party. He is a brother of Satyendra Nath Bose of the Maniktolla gang who was executed for the murder of the approver in that case.

BOSE, SUDHINDRA. Son of the late Dwarka Nath Bose, of Dacca District. In Dacca and Comilla he was a member of the revolutionary Samitis. He afterwards went to America and became a Professor in the University of Iowa. He was the first president of the Hindusthan Association of America, which, although nominally a non-political body, had a large number of revolutionary Indians among its members. Amongst the correspondence found with Harnam Singh of Sahri, the bomb-maker, was a letter from Tarak Nath Das advising Harnam Singh to write to Sudhindra Bose; and in another letter Tarak Nath Das suggested to Hussain Rahim that Sudhindra Bose would be a suitable person to lecture in his (Tarak Nath's) place at Vancouver.

BOSE, SURENDRA MOHON. Son of Mohini Mohan Bose, late headmaster of the Mymensingh Government High School. He went to Japan in 1906 and from the first was prominent amongst the discontented Indian students there; he took a prominent part in establishing the "India House" at Tokyo. He was in touch with Arabindo Ghose to whom he sent in December, 1907, a report on the assistance likely to be obtained by his party from Japan. (See page 220). An account of his doings in America will be found at page 249 [403].

CHAKRAVARTI, ABANI BHUSAN. Born about 1876, son of Srinath Chakravarti, of Abhoynagar, Jessore District. He was a member of the *Yugantar* gang headed by Kartik Dutta, and afterwards formed a gang of his own in Khulna and Jessore which was responsible for a number of dacoities in these districts. In August, 1910, he was sentenced to 7 years' transportation in the Nangla Conspiracy case.

CHAKRAVARTI, ANUKUL CHANDRA. Born about 1892, son of Hari Nath Chakravarti of Ramganj, Noakhali District. He was suspected in Chaupalli dacoity in his own district, and in the Panam dacoity in the Dacca District. He absconded in 1911, and remained untraced till November 1915, when he was arrested in connection with a discovery of revolvers and ammunition in Dacca.

CHAKRAVARTI, BEJOY KUMAR. Born about 1883, son of Bishen Kumar Chakravarti of Natore District. He was an intimate friend of S. C. Sirkar, leader of a gang of dacoits in Natore, and in March, 1910, he was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment under the Arms Act. He was prosecuted in the Howrah-Shibpur gang case, but acquitted.

CHAKRAVARTI, BINODE BEHARI. Born about 1890, son of Chandra Nath Chakravarti of Dacca District. In 1908 he was convicted of the theft at Shatirpara of a boat which he and his companions inten-

ded to use for a political dacoity (some daggers were found in the boat) and sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment. He was a member of the *Anusilan Samiti* of Dacca, and as such sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

CHAKRAVARTI, BROJENDRA LAL. Born about 1891, son of Kali Kanta Chakravarti of Lohajang, Dacca District. He was convicted in April, 1911, in the case of assault on a postal peon at Sonarang. In March, 1913, he was sentenced to 7 years' rigorous imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla.

CHAKRAVARTI, CHANDRA KANTA. Born about 1882, son of Kali Kanta Chakravarti of Village Goila, Bakarganj District. His father was a priest in the *kacheri* of Aswini Kumar Dutta of Barisal, and Chandra Kanta was educated in the Brojo Mohan Institution which was founded and managed by the same person. In the enquiry into the Maniktolla conspiracy case information was received that C. K. Chakravarti knew how to make bombs and was a close associate of dangerous members of the gang. A warrant, which is still in force, was issued for his arrest in that case under section 121 and 124-A, I.P.C., but he could not be found. In December 1908, a reward of Rs. 500/- was offered for his arrest. He is believed to have been printer of what is known as the first, *Yugantar* leaflet, which contained a detailed recipe for making picric acid bombs. For some time after the issue of the warrant nothing was heard of him, but later in 1908 a report was received from a reliable source that a Bengali named Chatterji or Chakravarti was organising a dangerous conspiracy with Ajit Singh somewhere [404] in the Punjab. This Bengali took great precautions to conceal his movements and was not satisfactorily identified at the time. On January 15th, 1909, a person calling himself Behari Lal, son of Bishen Das of Lahore (enquiries afterwards showed that there was no such person) sailed on the S.S.D. Balduino, from Bombay for Europe. Two different European passengers heard of and reported the way in which he indulged in seditious talk on the voyage, and gloried in being an anarchist and one of them noticed that he had a book bearing the name C.(?)H.(?) Chakravarti (so far as he was able to remember it six months later) and ascertained that he was going to Paris and would probably use the name Chakravarti there.

It was next reported that the same mysterious Bengali who had been plotting with Ajit Singh in the Punjab had arrived in Paris early in February, 1909; that after a short stay there he had gone to London, where he appeared at the India House for a few days, and that he had then disappeared. Meanwhile the news came from Bengal that C. K. Chakravarti had written about this time to a friend from Paris. There is practically no doubt that Ajit Singh's fellow-conspirator, the passenger Behari Lal, and the visitor at the India House, London, were all the same person C. K. Chakravarti. He was first definitely marked down in New York, where he arrived on the 18th March, 1909. He joined the Vedanta Society, and adopted the name Satyanand Brunmachari, and for some years he did nothing to attract attention. He afterwards took

a prominent part in the German plot in New York, and was arrested on 6th March, 1917. (see index.)

CHAKRAVARTI, GOPI BALLABH. Born about 1889, son of Govinda Chandra Chakravarti of Pabna and Dacca Districts. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case. The sentence was reduced to 2 years on appeal to High Court in April, 1912.

CHAKRAVARTI, HARI KUMAR. Son of Jogendra Kumar Chakravarti of Kodalia, 24-Parganas District. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti of Calcutta, and took part with other members in a scheme to take up land at a place called Gosaba in the Sundarbans, where their apparent object was to secure a safe retreat for revolutionary work under the pretext of engaging in agriculture. As the enterprise proved unprofitable it was given up. He is a distant relative of Noren Bhattacharji *alias* C. A. Martin. In 1913 he joined the firm of Harry & Sons, Calcutta, dealing in stationery, oilman's stores etc., and in 1915 he secured the sole control of the firm. His connection with the German plot is described at page 276.

CHAKRAVARTI, NRIPENDRA CHANDRA. Born about 1890, son of Sashi Chakravarti of Dacca District. He was a member of the Lakhi Bazar Branch of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca and absconded after the Barrah dacoity. He was arrested in May, 1910, but discharged. He was again arrested in connection with the attempted murder of Inspector Sarat Chandra Ghose at Dacca in September, 1910, but released for want of evidence.

CHAKRAVARTI, PANNA LAI. Born about 1889, son of Peary Lal Chakravarti of Calcutta. He was a member of Kartik [405] Dutt's *Yugantar* gang, and was sentenced to 3½ years' imprisonment in the Bighati dacoity case, in March, 1909. He was released in September, 1911, in connection with the Coronation Durbar.

CHAKRAVARTI, RAM CHANDRA. Born about 1890, of Comilla, Tippera District. He was a teacher in the Sonarang National School, and sentenced to 2 months' imprisonment in the case of assault on a postal peon but acquitted in appeal.

CHAKRAVARTI, SARADA CHARAN. Born about 1886, son of Ram Kumar Chakravarti of Routhhog, Dacca District. He was captain of the Routhhog branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and an absconder in the Dacca Conspiracy case. He was suspected in several subsequent dacoities and in the Sonarang murder.

CHAKRAVARTI, SHYAM SUNDAR. Born about 1872, son of Hari Sundar Chakravarti of Bharenga, Pabna District. He was an associate of Arabindo Ghose, B. C. Pal and Brahma Bandhab Upadhyaya, editor of the *Sandhya*, and was for a time sub-editor of that paper. Later he was on the staff on Arabindo Ghose's *Bande Mataram* of which he was one of the directors. He was one of the nine agitators deported in December, 1908. He afterwards became sub-editor of Surendranath Banerjea's paper, the *Bengalee*, and in July, 1916, he was arrested and interned under the Defence of India Act as he was one of the principal advisers of the revolutionary party and was regularly visited by its leaders.

CHAKRAVARTI, SURENDRA CHANDRA. Born about 1885, son of Akhay Charan Chakravarti of Madhyapara, Dacca District. He was prosecuted in the Rajendrapur train dacoity case and committed to the Sessions Court but discharged there.

CHAKRAVARTI, TROILOKHYA NATH. Born about 1889, son of Durga Charan Chakravarti of Bajitpur, Mymensingh District. In October 1908, he was sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment for the theft at Shatirpara of a boat intended to be used in the commission of a dacoity. He was secretary of the Shatirpara branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and absconded in the Dacca Conspiracy case. He was suspected in connection with the murder of Sub-Inspector Raj Kumar Roy, and was seen in Dacca that day after the murder of Head Constable Rati Lal Roy, in connection with which he was arrested but discharged. He was an absconder in the Barisal Conspiracy case, but was afterwards arrested in November, 1914, and sentenced in November, 1915, to 15 years' transportation, which was reduced by the High Court to 10 years in July, 1916.

CHANDRA, NOGENDRA CHANDRA. Born about 1884, son of Gopal Chandra of Narail, Bengal. He was a member of the local branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and was sentenced in August, 1910, to 7 years' transportation in the Nangla Conspiracy case.

CHANDRATRE, DAMODAR MAHADEV. Born about 1885, son of Mahadev Chandratre, Deshasth Brahmin of Nasik. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

CHANDVADKAR, KESHAV SHRIPAT, alias BRAHMAGIRI BOA. Born about 1863; Deshasth Brahmin of Poona. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

CHATTERJI, AMARENDRA NATH, alias GOBIN, B.A. Born about 1877, son of Upendra Nath Chatterji of Uttarpara, Hooghly District. As early as 1907 he was taking a prominent part in the boycott movement in Uttarpara. In 1908 there was strong suspicion that he was connected with the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and his house at Uttarpara was searched, but sufficient evidence for a prosecution was not obtained. In 1909 he was editor of Arabindo Ghose's paper the *Karmayogin* (see page 87). In October, 1910, he started the *Sramajibi Samabaya* (The Co-operative Labour Association) in Harrison Road, calling himself Director and Secretary. It was a meeting place of prominent revolutionaries such as Satish Bose, Jotin Mukherji, Shyam Sundar Chakravarti, Makhani Lal Sen, Mokhoda Samadhyaya and others. At the beginning of 1912 he had to be placed under special surveillance on account of his dangerous associations, and in 1913 it was found in the course of enquiries into the Delhi conspiracy case that Basant Kumar Biswas had been employed in the *Sramajibi Samabaya*. In 1914 he was in constant association with notorious revolutionaries of a dangerous type, and in 1915 he was implicated in the German plot (see page 276).

CHATTERJI, BHOLANATH. Son of Uma Charan Chatterji of Tegra, Hooghly District. In the early days of the agitation he took a prominent part in the boycott movement in his native village. In 1912

he came to notice associating with members of the revolutionary party in Calcutta. In 1914 he went to Bangkok where he met Kumod Nath Mukherji, and an account of his connection with the German Plot will be found at page 280.

CHATTERJI, BISESWAR. Born about 1885, son of Keshab Lal Chatterji of Khulna District. In October, 1910, he was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment in the Mahisa dacoity case (Jessore District).

CHATTERJI, JANENDRA NATH, alias GNYANENDRA NATH, alias J. N. SHARMAN. Born about 1894, son of Rai Bahadur Brojendra Nath Chatterji, a retired Superintendent of the Calcutta Police. He ran away from home in August, 1908, and after staying for a time with the revolutionary gang in Pondicherry he went to Berkeley, California, and entered the University as an Arts student. Here he adopted the name Sharman. In the spring of 1910 he was a student at the Mount Temalpais Military Academy, California, and being in poor circumstances was also working in the Academy as a waiter. He was in communication with Shyamaji Krishnavarma in Paris, and also with M. P. Tirumal Acharya whom he had got to know through his friend in Pondicherry and he hoped to obtain money from the former to enable him to go to Paris. In August, 1910, he was in New York, sharing rooms with Fakir Chand Pal at 234, East 18th Street, and taking lessons in military signalling. In spite of his apparent poverty he had a valuable collection of books on military science and explosives. He talked as a violent revolutionary, and referring to Savarkar's case said he would one day avenge all those martyrs. He visited England in 1911, and after returning to America came to England again in 1913. [407]

CHATTERJI, MANABENDRA NATH, alias BIDYANANDA SWAMI. Born about 1869, son of Tara Kali Chatterji of Calcutta. In February, 1908, he was convicted of sedition in the *Sandhya* case and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 or six months.

CHATTERJI, SAILENDRA NATH. Born about 1888, son of Prasanna Kumar Chatterji of Hooghly District. He was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the Haludbari dacoity case and afterwards in April, 1911, to one year in the Howrah gang case.

CHATTERJI, SATISH CHANDRA. Born about 1889, son of Nibaran Chandra Chatterji of Abhoynagar, Jessore District. He was a member of the local branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and in August, 1910, he was sentenced to 3 years' transportation in the Nangla conspiracy case.

CHATTERJI, SUKUMAR. Born about 1892, son of R. N. Chatterji, a contractor of Jubbulpore. He arrived in America in April, 1913, and eventually reached Berkeley where he joined the Ghadr party. He was sent as an emissary of the party to Siam where he was arrested. (See page 285).

CHATTERJI, UPENDRA NATH. Born about 1875, son of Nepal Chandra Chatterji of Chandani Mahal, Khulna District. In October, 1910, he was sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment in the Mahisa dacoity case.

CHATTOPADHYAYA, VIRENDRANATH. Born about 1880, eldest son of Dr. Aghorenath Chatterji, ex-Principal and Professor of Science in the Nizam's College, Hyderabad. Chattopadhyaya is simply another form

of the name Chatterji. Virendranath matriculated at the Madras University and is a B.A. of Calcutta University. He went to England in 1902 and entered twice for the I.C.S. Examination but failed both times. He took a prominent part in seditious conspiracy in London and Paris, and afterwards in Berlin. (See index).

CHAUDHURI, NAGENDRA NATH, alias SURESH CHANDRA CHAUDHURI. Born about 1886, son of Troilokhya Nath Chaudhuri of Shongar, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and was in charge of the arms belonging to the society. In June, 1914, he was convicted in the Baranagar Arms Act case and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment. In the Barisal supplementary conspiracy case he was sentenced in November, 1915, to 10 years' transportation, but in view of his previous sentence in connection with similar facts this was reduced by the High Court to 7 years in July, 1916.

CHAUDHURI, LALIT CHANDRA. Born about 1891, son of Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri of Bagbari, Tippera District. He was an intimate friend of Pulin Behari Das of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca, and a member of the Routhog branch of the Samiti. In September, 1910, he was arrested in connection with a find of bombs at Munshiganj in the Dacca District and sentenced to 10 years' transportation.

CHAUDHURI, ROMESH CHANDRA, alias PARITOSH. Born about 1890, son of Prasanna Kumar Chaudhuri of Bajitpur, Mymensingh District. He was a pupil at the notorious Sonarang [408] National School and was suspected in a political robbery in 1908. Being found in Dacca in very suspicious circumstances in 1913, he was bound down in January, 1914, under Section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. He was accused in the Barisal conspiracy case, but absconded. He was arrested in December, 1914, and sentenced in November, 1915, in the supplementary case to 10 years' transportation, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

CHENCHIAH, DARISI. Son of Subhaya Chetti of Nellore District. He went to Berkeley, California, about 1913 and there joined the *Ghadr* party. He was in charge of the despatch of the *Ghadr* newspaper, and his manuscript instructions to the printer for the envelopes have been obtained. He was sent as an emissary of the *Ghadr* party to Siam where he was arrested. (See page 285).

CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI, MADATHUPADAI. Born about 1888, son of Sankaralingam Pillai of Vellala. He was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in the Tinnevely conspiracy case, one of the meetings of conspirators having been held in his house at Tenkasi.

CHIDAMBARAM PILLAI, VAKIL OLAGANATHA. Born about 1876, belongs to Vellala. He was a pleader in Tuticorin and secretary of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company. He was convicted of delivering seditious speeches in Tinnevely and Tuticorin and sentenced to transportation for life in July, 1908. The sentence was reduced by the High Court to six years' imprisonment. He was released from jail on 23rd December, 1912.

DAMLE, KESHAV NARAYAN, alias SACHIDANANDA SWAMI. Born about 1866. A Chitpawan Brahmin *sanyasi* (devotee) holding ex-

tremist views, a follower of G. B. Deshpande of Belgaum. In 1910 he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in Dhulia for publishing a seditious book. The sentence was reduced in appeal to three months.

DAMLE, SITARAM KESHAV, B.A., LL.B. Born about 1874, Chitpawan Brahmin, of Dapoli, Ratnagiri District. He was editor of two seditious papers, the *Rashtramat* and the *Rashtrodaya* of Bombay, and a follower of B. G. Tilak.

DANDEKAR, PURUSHOTTAM LAKSHMAN. Born about 1891, son of Lakshman Dandekar, Konkanasth Brahmin, of Nasik. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the Nasik conspiracy case.

DAS, GANESH CHANDRA. Born about 1889, son of Hari Narayan Das of Tamruk, Midnapore District. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Haludbari dacoity case, and in April, 1911, to one year more in the Howrah gang case.

DAS, HEM CHANDRA. Born about 1888, son of Khetra Mohan Das, of Midnapore. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy and was sent to France to learn how to make bombs, which he did in Paris from a Russian anarchist, Nicolas Safranski. He returned to India and became the bomb expert to the Maniktolla [409] gang. He was sentenced to transportation for life in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case.

DAS, JADU NATH. Born about 1889, son of Kali Nath Das, of Dacca District. He was captain of the Shatirpara branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and was convicted in 1908 in connection with the theft of a boat intended to be used in the commission of a dacoity. In August, 1911, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case but acquitted in appeal.

DAS, MUKUNDA LAL, alias JOGYESWAR DEY. Born about 1882, son of Guru Dayal Das, of Rajabari, Dacca district. He was expelled from the Rajchandra School, and afterwards became a Collectorate pcon but was dismissed for disobedience in 1907. He then became a *Jatrawalla*, and toured the country with his company of strolling singers. In 1909 he was convicted and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for publishing a book of seditious songs, and to two years, at a separate trial, for singing seditious songs in public; his appeal against these convictions was dismissed by the Sessions Judge of Bakarganj in March, 1909. On August 31st, 1916, he gave a musical performance at the University Institute, Calcutta, and later gave two performances at the house of Mr. Justice Chaudhuri, of the Calcutta High Court. The account of the function at the University Institute, published in the *Bengalee* of 1st September, 1916, concludes as follows :—

“Performance finished, Dewan Bahadur Dr. Hira Lal Bose delivered a neat little speech suitable to the occasion, and announcing the award of a sum of Rs. 225 by way of encouragement to the proprietor of the *jatra* party (i.e., Mukunda Lal Das) by Sir Asutosh Mukherji, made him over the amount and a medal from his own purse amidst high enthusiasm and cheers. The function, which was a unique success, wound up with three cheers for Mr. Justice Chaudhuri, Sir Asutosh Mukherji, and the Vice-Chancellor at about 9 p.m.

DAS, PROMODE BEHARI. Born about 1893, son of Naba Kumar Das, Kayasth, of Lonesing, Faridpur District. He is a brother of Pulin Behari Das, and was a member of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, which was reduced in appeal by the High Court to two years in April, 1912.

DAS, PULIN BIHARI. Born about 1878, son of Naba Kumar Das, Kayasth, of Lonesing, Faridpur. He was Captain General of the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca. (see page 154).

DAS, PURNA CHANDRA. Born about 1891, son of Kashi Nath Das, of Rajan, Faridpur District. He was an organiser of the Madaripur gang of dacoits, and leader of the gang which committed the Gopalpur dacoity. He was prosecuted but acquitted. He continued to take a prominent part in revolutionary crime till he was arrested in 1915, and ordered under the Defence of India Act, to reside at Cox's Bazar, Chittagong.

DAS, SAILENDRA KUMAR. Born about 1889, son of Akshoy Kumar Das, a Munsif of Lonesing, Faridpur. He is a cousin of Pulin Behari Das. In April, 1910, he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the Haludbari dacoity case, and in April, 1911, [410] to two years more in the Howrah gang case. The latter sentence was remitted in connection with the Coronation Durbar.

DAS, SARANGADHAR. Born about 1887; belongs to Dhenkanal, Orissa. He was sent to Japan to study, and in 1909 he went to America where he took up chemistry at the University of California, Berkeley. In April, 1911, he is known to have written from Berkeley to Shyamaji Krishnavarma in Paris asking him to send him regularly 20 copies of the *Indian Sociologist* which he promised to forward to various places in India. He eventually joined Har Dayal's party, of which he became a prominent member. Early in 1915 he had gone to live in Honolulu.

DAS, TARAKNATH. Born about 1884, son of the late Kali Mohan Das, of Calcutta. An account of the early career of this important revolutionary will be found at page 119 and other references in the index. He left America before the arrests of many of the Indian revolutionary leaders took place, and in May, 1917 he was in Tokyo, attempting to work up friendship between the people of Japan and the Indian revolutionary party. On 8th August, 1917, he left Japan for America, having agreed, at the request of the Japanese and United States Governments, to return to stand his trial, and on his arrival at San Francisco he was arrested.

DAS GUPTA, ASHUTOSH. Born about 1886, son of Kashi Prasanna Das Gupta, of Munshiganj, Dacca District. His father was a teacher in the Dacca National School, and he himself was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti. He was sentenced to transportation for life in the Dacca Conspiracy case, which was reduced to six years on appeal to the High Court.

DAS GUPTA, DINESH CHANDRA. Born about 1891, son of Satish Chandra Das Gupta, of Munshiganj, Dacca District. He was arrested in the Raja Bazar bomb case, and in June, 1914, he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment but acquitted by the High Court in

appeal. In 1915, he was arrested under the Defence of India Act and ordered to reside at his home in Munshiganj.

DAS GUPTA, GIRENDRA MOHAN. Born about 1896, son of Jamini Mohan Das Gupta of Wari, Dacca District. In February, 1913, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the Nagalband dacoity case, and later to 18 months' imprisonment in connection with a find of arms at Wari. He was prosecuted in the Barisal Conspiracy case but discharged in January, 1914.

DAS GUPTA, ROMESH CHANDRA, alias BANKIM CHANDRA ROY. Born about 1892, son of Khirode Chandra Das Gupta, of Jessore District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti under a false name. In March 1913, he was convicted in a case of attempted dacoity at Comilla and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. He was prosecuted in the Barisal Conspiracy case but discharged.

DAVRE, VISHWAS BALWANT. Born about 1888, son of Balwant Davre, Deshasth Brahmin of Poona. He was a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society of Nasik and sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

DESHPANDE, GANGADHAR BALKRISHNA, B.A., LL.B. Born about 1869, son of Balkrishna Deshpande, Deshasth Brahmin [411] of Belgaum. He was strongly suspected of being concerned in the Kolhapur plot to murder Colonel Ferris in April, 1908. In June, 1908, he was reported to be head of a society in Belgaum called the Gupta Mandali (which means "Secret Society"). A garlanded photograph of the Chapekar Brothers (see page 20) was hung up in the National School with which this Society was connected. He was for years the leading extremist agitator of Belgaum, and a friend and admirer of B. G. Tilak.

DEY, BIDHU BHUSAN. Born about 1888, son of Kristo Lal Dey, of Abhoynagar, Jessore District. He was a member of the Alka branch of the Anusilan Samiti and took part in the Nangla dacoity. In August, 1910, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation in the Khulna gang case.

DEY, BOLAI CHANDRA. Born about 1887, son of Sashi Lal Dey, of French Chandernagore. He was a leading member of the Chandernagore revolutionary gang, and was arrested on his way to Calcutta on 23rd March, 1915, and interned in Midnapore Jail.

DEY, CHANDRA SEKHAR. Born about 1891, son of Chandi Charan Dey, of Tippera District. He was a resident member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and after its dissolution in January, 1909, he absconded. In July, 1910, he visited Pulin Behari Das in suspicious circumstances, and was imprisoned for a year under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. In November, 1913, he was arrested in Calcutta in the Raja Bazar bomb case.

DEY, PROVASH CHANDRA, alias MANIK LAL DEY. Born about 1886, son of Nobin Chandra Dey, of Calcutta. He was acquitted in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case. In 1910 he was reported to have formed a plot to kill the Viceroy at Tollygunge Races. He was afterwards sentenced to two years' imprisonment in connection with the publication of a *Yugantar* leaflet.

DEY, SUDHIR CHANDRA. Born about 1887, son of Jogendra Nath Dey, of Alka, Fultola, Bengal. He was a member of the Alka Branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and in August, 1910, he was sentenced to five years' transportation in the Nangla Conspiracy case.

DEY, UPENDRA. Born about 1889, son of Ashutosh Dey, of Santragachi, Howrah District. In April, 1910, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Haludbari Dacoity case, and a year later to one year's imprisonment in the Howrah gang case.

DHADE, BABAJI LAKSHMAN. Born about 1858, a Brahmin doctor, resident of Chandod in Baroda State. He was connected with the Ganganath Vidyalaya, a National School near Baroda and his name was found in note book in the Maniktolla garden.

DHAR, HEMENDRA NATH. Born about 1890, son of Narendra Kumar Dhar of Narainganj, Dacca District. In 1909 he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the Narainganj stabbing case, which was reduced to three months in appeal.

DARAP, GOPAL GOVIND. Born about 1892, son of Govind Dharap, of Jambhulpada, Bhore State. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case. [412].

DINA NATH, LALA. Born about 1878, son of Amolak Ram, of Gujranwala. An Arya Samajist of advanced views, and editor of seditious papers. In 1907 he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the case against the newspaper *India* of Gujranwala.

DUBE, SITARAM. Son of Rao Saheb Alam Chand, a pensioned Extra Assistant Commissioner of Hoshangabad. He went to England in 1909 to study law, along with V. P. Dubé with whom he constantly associated. He was arrested and interned in England at the same time as V. P. Dubé (see page 269).

DUBE, VISHNU PRASAD. Son of Prasad Dubé, a loyal and respected pleader of Hoshangabad. He went to England in 1909 to study law, and associated with V. D. Savarkar and other India House revolutionaries. He was a friend of V. Chattopadhyaya, and was arrested and interned in England as he was in communication with Chattopadhyaya in Berlin (see page 269).

DUTT, ADITYA CHANDRA. Born about 1890, son of Ananda Chandra Dutta of Rupganj, Dacca District. He was convicted in the Narainganj case in 1909, and in March, 1913, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court.

DUTT, AKSHOY KUMAR, alias LOHA. Born about 1890, son of Nanda Kumar Dutt, Kayasth, of Srinagar, Dacca District. He was a prominent member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court in April, 1912.

DUTT, AMULYA KRISHNA. Born about 1892, son of Rajani Kanta Dutt, of Calcutta. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and was sentenced in April, 1910, to 18 months' imprisonment under the Arms Act.

DUTTA, ASWINI KUMAR, M.A., B.L. Born about 1850; belongs to Batajore, Bakarganj District. He was proprietor of the Brojo Mohan.

Institution (College and School), Barisal, and for some time Professor of English Literature and Law in this College. He was a member of the District Local Board, where he was noted for his opposition to Government, and a Municipal Commissioner of Barisal from 17th March, 1906, till his deportation.

He began to agitate against the Partition of Bengal even before it took place, and in the Autumn of 1905 Lord Curzon was burnt in effigy in the compound of his institution. Throughout the following years he was a leader of the agitation in Eastern Bengal, and his institution was a centre of disaffection, almost all the processions and demonstrations in Barisal beginning or ending in the compound of his college. He took a prominent part in organising volunteers, and was president, until his deportation, of the Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, which was declared to be an unlawful association under the new Act in January, 1909. In order to gain the confidence of the people he did a good deal of charitable work through his Samiti and otherwise, and in the scarcity of 1906 he was able to collect Rs. 96,000 which were used in relieving the sufferings of the *bhadralok* class (the class to which he himself belongs) [413].

Aswini Kumar Dutt was so notoriously the leader of the agitation in Eastern Bengal that his deportation was recommended by the Local Government in July, 1907, but it was negatived by the Government of India. Attempts were made to deal with the local unrest in Bakarganj District by increasing the police force and applying the ordinary law, but this was found to be ineffectual. Aswini himself left Barisal for a time; he attended the National Congress at Surat in December, 1907, and when it was broken up by the extremists under Tilak he took the side of the latter. Thereafter he toured in Bombay and the Central Provinces, making speeches in the extremist interest and keeping in touch with B. G. Tilak of Poona and G. S. Khaparde of Amraoti. He returned to Barisal in July, 1908, and renewed the Boycott agitation there. At an extremist meeting at Batajore in October, 1908, a song was sung asking the audience "to gain their independence by the aid of the sword," but the singers were stopped by Aswini with the remark that "the time had not yet come for such songs." He was deported in December, 1908, and his case and that of K. K. Mitter were those which aroused the greatest amount of criticism in Bengal and throughout India. Attention was chiefly directed to the good work his "volunteers" had done in connection with famine and similar matters, and his extremist activities were denied or ignored. On his return from deportation in February, 1910, he excused himself from taking further part in Politics on account of his age and ill-health.

DUTT, BHUPENDRA NATH. Born about 1880, son of Mohendra Nath Dutt, of Calcutta. In July, 1907, he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment as editor of the *Yugantar*. In 1908 he went to New York, and after war broke out he became an agent to Germany (see index).

DUTT, KARTIK CHANDRA. Born about 1885, son of Srikisto Dutt, Kayasth of Santipur, Nadia District. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and afterwards head of the *Yugantar* gang of revolutionaries and political dacoits. In a case of assault on a missionary at Santipur he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In

March, 1909, he was convicted in the Bighati dacoity case and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

DUTT, ULLASKAR. Born about 1886, son of Dwijadas Dutt, of Brahmanbaria, Tippera District. He was a leading member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and bomb-maker to the society before the return of Hem Chandra Das from Paris. In the conspiracy case he was sentenced to transportation for life.

FAZL-UL-HASSAN *alias* **HASRAT MOHANI.** A Mahomedan, born about 1883, son of Azhur Husain of Aligarh. He is a seditious journalist and poet, and as an editor of the *Urdu-i-Mulla*, was convicted of sedition and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or six months in August, 1908. The sentence of imprisonment was afterwards reduced by the High Court of Allahabad to one year, the paper continued to publish sedition, and in May, 1913, it ceased to appear as he was unable to provide the security demanded under the Press Act. [413] He continued to take a prominent part in pan-Islamic agitation and has been interned (see page 224).

GADGIL, MAHADEV BALWANT. Born about 1884, son of Balwant Gadgil, Chitpawan Brahmin of Nasik. He was a friend of G. D. Savarkar, and a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society. In May, 1909, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment under the Arms Act.

GANGARAM. Son of Rup Chand, Marwadi, of Aurangabad, Hyderabad State. He was concerned in the Nasik Conspiracy, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment in that case.

GANGULI, ABANI MOHAN, *alias* **AJIT KUMAR,** *alias* **AJIT BANERJI.** Born about 1893, son of Kailash Chandra Ganguli, of Tangibari, Bengal. He was convicted in the Dacca Conspiracy case, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court.

GANGULI, BEPIN BEHARI. Born about 1886, son of the Akhoy Nath Ganguli, of Calcutta. He was an associate of Indra Nath Nandy, and was named as concerned in the highway robbery at Agarpara in August, 1915; he was sentenced in September to five years' imprisonment in that case.

GANGULI, HEM CHANDRA. Born about 1880, son of Prasanna Kumar Ganguli, of Chandani Mahal, Khulna District. In October, 1910, he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in the Mahisa dacoity case.

GANGULI, PROTUL CHANDRA, *alias* **HEMANGSU CHAKRAVARTI.** Born about 1891, son of Mohim Chandra Ganguli, of Srinagar, Dacca District. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti and an absconder in the Barisal Conspiracy case. He was arrested in September, 1914, and sentenced in November, 1915, to 10 years' transportation in the supplementary case, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

GANGULI, SURESH CHANDRA. Born about 1887, son of Ashutosh Ganguli, of Ghulia, Jessore District. In October, 1910, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the Mahisa dacoity case.

GHOSE, ARABINDO. (see page 141 and index).

GHOSE, ASWINI KUMAR. Born about 1880; of Narainganj, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court in April, 1912.

GHOSE, BARINDRA KUMAR. He was the leader of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and was sentenced to transportation for life in the case which arose out of it. (See page 136).

GHOSE, DHIRENDRA NATH. Born about 1888, son of Sarat Chandra Ghose, of Calcutta. In April, 1909, he was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment in the Bajitpur dacoity case.

GHOSE, GOPAL CHANDRA, alias KAMAKHYA CHANDRA. Born about 1892, son of Purna Chandra Ghose, of Calcutta. He [415] was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case in August, 1911, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court.

GHOSE, JATINDRA MOHAN, alias JATINDRA CHANDRA. Born about 1891, son of Ram Kishore Ghose, of Srinagar, Dacca District. In January, 1914, he was convicted in the Barisal Conspiracy case and sentenced to 10 years' transportation.

GHOSE, JYOTISH CHANDRA. Born about 1877, son of Promotho Nath Ghose, of Chinsura, Hooghly District. He was a Professor at the Hooghly College, but was dismissed on account of his political activities. According to Noni Gopal Mukherji, who threw the Dalhousie Square bomb, he did so at this man's instigation. Jyotish Ghose was arrested on a charge of abetment but as the case was not strong enough he had to be discharged. In January, 1917, he was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

GHOSE, KALI NATH. Born about 1883, son of Mahima Chandra Ghose, Sholepur, Narail, Bengal. He was a member of the local branch of the Anusilan Samiti and took part in the Nangla dacoity. In August, 1910, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation in the Nangla Conspiracy case.

GHOSE, KAMAKHYA CHANDRA, alias GOPAL CHANDRA. Born about 1892, son of Purna Chandra Ghose, of Munshiganj, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

GHOSE, MOTI LAL. Born about 1855, son of Hari Narayan Ghose of Magura, Jessore District. The Ghose family established a Bazar which they called, after their mother, the Amrita Bazar, and an elder brother of Moti Lal named Sisir Kumar started the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Patrika means newspaper), at first as a weekly. Moti Lal Ghose has been for many years the editor of this paper which appears daily in Calcutta in English. He has no University qualifications and received his education at home. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is the great rival of the *Bengalee*, and caters for the same class of readers; for a long time Moti Lal Ghose and Surendranath Banerji were not on speaking terms on this account. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is a severe critic of Government on all occasions, but it possesses the saving grace of a kind of caustic humour, of which the *Bengalee* is unfortunately devoid.

GHOSH, NALINI KANTA. Son of Jay Chandra Ghose, of Rugganj, Dacca District. In 1912, as a student at Dacca, he was known to be a revolutionary. He was suspected in the murder of Basanta Bhattacharji in 1913; and absconded, among his belongings were found diagrams of revolvers and automatic pistols. He was concerned in the Chittagong murder of June, 1914, and suspected in the murder of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Kumar Chatterji in June, 1915. He was arrested at Allahabad in August, 1916.

GHOSE, NISHI KANTA. Born about 1892, son of Uma Kanta Ghose, Kayasth, of Nawabganj, Dacca. He was convicted in the Barisal Conspiracy case in January, 1914, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment. [416]

GHOSE, SIRISH CHANDRA. Born about 1885, son of Dhirej Kristo Ghose, of French Chandernagore. He was a member of the Maniktolla gang and was suspected of having a hand in smuggling into jail the revolver with which the approver in that case was shot. He was for a time sub-editor of the seditious *Hitabudi* newspaper. He was arrested in the Dalhousie Square bomb case but discharged on 31st May, 1911; the Chief Presidency Magistrate remarked that there was evidence which created suspicion against him, but there was not enough to support the charge of abetment of the attempt to murder. He was one of the most dangerous members of the Chandernagore gang of revolutionaries, and was arrested on 20th March, 1915, and interned in Midnapore jail.

GHOSE, SISIR KUMAR. Born about 1889, son of Tarini Chandra Ghose of Keshabpur, Bengal. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the case.

GHOSE, SURENDRA CHANDRA, alias SURENDRA MOHAN, alias KHAGENDRA, alias DHEPA. Born about 1888, son of Rajani Mohan Ghose, of Munshiganj, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and is believed to have been concerned in the murder of the brother of Gobesh Chatterji, an informer, at Fatehjangpur. He absconded after the murder; he was arrested in Calcutta and put on his trial but acquitted in July, 1910. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, but was acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

GHOSE CHAUDHURI, NARANDRA MOHAN, alias A. K. MITTER. Born about 1891, son of Gopal Chandra Ghose Chaudhuri, of Lakshipara, Noakhali District. He was named in the Dadpur dacoity case, and thereafter absconded and wandered about the country. He was bound over in December, 1911, in the Bakarganj District. He was concerned in the Sibpur dacoity case, and was arrested in a room in Calcutta in November, 1915, along with another young Bengali who had a loaded and cocked Mauser pistol of the Rodda consignment under his pillow. He was sent to Nadia for trial in the Sibpur dacoity case.

GOBIND BEHARI LAL. Son of Bishen Lal Mathur, a tehsildar of Bikanir State, residing in Delhi. He was a member of the old Delhi conspiracy, his name being found in the list of members in Amir Chand's house. He went to America in 1912 and joined the *Ghadr* party in San Francisco. He was present at the dinner given by Har Dayal on 25th December, 1912, to celebrate the attempt to assassinate the Viceroy at

Delhi, and also at the commemoration dinner of the same event on 23rd December, 1913. He was a very energetic lieutenant of his fellow-townsmen Har Dayal, working on the staff of the *Ghadr* and addressing *Ghadr* meetings. In March, 1915, he was sent to England by the *Ghadr* party in connection with a plot to murder Lord Kitchener (see page 271), but failed in his mission and returned to the United States.

GODBOLE, SHANKAR WASUDEV. Born about 1891, son of Wasudev Goddole of Kolaba. In 1910 he was sentenced to [417] 2½ years' imprisonment under the Arms Act. He was also concerned in the Nasik conspiracy and prosecuted for this but discharged.

GOKHALE, PURUSHOTTAM WAMAN. Born about 1891, son of Waman Gokhale, Chitpawan Brahmin of Pen, Kolaba District. In 1910 he was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment under the Arms Act.

GUHA, DINESH CHANDRA. Born about 1890, son of Nibaran Chandra Guha, of Srinagar, Dacca District. He was a member of a branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and in November, 1909, he was bound over for a year as he was unable to account for his presence at Agartola at the time of the Lieutenant-Governor's visit. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court.

GUHA, HIRANMOY, alias KSHIRODE. Born about 1890, son of Rajani Nath Guha, of Keraniganj, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the conspiracy case, which was afterwards reduced to 3 years by the High Court.

GUHA, MANIKYA CHANDRA. Born about 1891, son of Nibaran Chandra Guha of Srinagar, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and assaulted a police constable who was watching the movements of Pulin Behari Das, for which he suffered 2 months' imprisonment. He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court.

GUHA, MONORANJAN, Born about 1858 at Banaripara, Bakarganj, Eastern Bengal. He is the owner of Mica mines at Giridih, Bengal, and well-to-do. He was a prominent anti-Partition agitator in 1905 and 1906 at Barisal, and afterwards in Calcutta and the vicinity. He was connected with the seditious *Navasakti* newspaper, was a financial supporter of the Maniktolla revolutionary gang, and was frequently consulted by the head of the gang, Barindra Ghose, at the *Navasakti* office. He was one of the nine Bengali agitators deported in December, 1908.

GUHA, ROHINI, alias RAMANI KUMUD. Born about 1891, of Bakarganj District. In January, 1914, he was convicted in the Barisal Conspiracy case and sentenced to 10 years' transportation.

GUHA, SARADA CHARAN. Born about 1885, son of Gobinda Chandra Guha, of Mulgaon, Goshairghat, Faridpur District. He was a member of the local Anusilan Samiti and arrested in connection with the Chaupalli dacoity (Noakhali District) but acquitted. In November, 1913, he was arrested in the Raja Bazar bomb case.

GUPTA, BRAHMANANDA. Son of Chandra Mohan Gupta of Palong. He was a prominent member of a branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and after the arrest of Pulin Behari Das in the kidnapping case he was put in charge of the Samiti. While he was in charge Sukumar Chakravarti was murdered. (See [418] page 165). He took a prominent part in the boycott, intimidating and threatening shopkeepers.

GUPTA, DHARANI. Born about 1884, son of Girija Prasanna Gupta, of Munshiganj, Dacca District. In August, 1908, he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the Harrison Road (Calcutta) bomb case.

GUPTA, RAGHBIR DAYAL. Belongs to Allahabad. He took an active part in the production of the *Ghadr* newspaper in San Francisco, and attended the meetings of the party. In 1914, he returned to India, via Ceylon, along with Kartar Singh of Saraba and an American anarchist adherent of Har Dayal called Jenkins, known to the *Ghadr* party as "Jack." Their intention was to purchase arms through the American member of the expedition, and to prepare the way for the *Ghadr* invasion in the Punjab. Gupta was arrested shortly after his arrival in India; Kartar Singh was convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy case and sentenced to death.

GURU DAYAL. Son of Raj Kishore, of Narainganj, Dacca District. He was secretary of the Sonamoye branch of the Anusilan Samiti. He was sentenced in the Dacca Conspiracy case to 10 years' imprisonment, which was reduced on appeal to 5 years by the High Court.

Haidar Raza, or RIZA. Born about 1883, son of the late Ahmad Raza, a resident of Muzaffarnagar District, United Provinces, where he owned some land (exempt from taxation) which he received as a reward from Government for loyal service. Ahmad Raza served as a teacher in the Multan Government School and died about 1889. Haidar Raza (or Riza as he spells it himself) was brought up by his uncle, a petty Government official (Naib Tehsildar) in Rewari, Gurgaon District. He was educated at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, where he became a B.A. and remained on as a teacher. In 1905 he took up the swadeshi movement, started by the Hindus, who were glad to have him as a recruit as he made it appear that the Mahomedans were joining them. When, however, he was dismissed in 1906 from St. Stephen's College, they refused his application for a post in the Hindu College. He then started the newspaper *Aftab* (Sun) of Delhi, which he conducted on very extreme lines. He took a prominent part in the agitation in the Punjab in 1907, and at a meeting held on 19th May, 1907, after the deportation of Lajpatrai, he thought it necessary publicly to deny the story that he had asked forgiveness from the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi for what had passed; on the 26th of May he held a meeting to express indignation at the deportation of Lajpatrai. In September, 1908, he went on a lecturing tour in the Bombay Presidency, which was cut short by his being bound over in Poona under section 108, Criminal [419] Procedure Code. He returned to Delhi and gave an undertaking that the *Aftab* would not appear again.

Finding that sedition in India did not pay Haidar Raza got into communication with Shyamaji Krishnavarma in Paris, who awarded him one of his scholarships and sent him the first moiety, Rs. 500. This was received by Haidar Raza on 16th January, 1909, and he left Delhi two days later for Bombay, sailing for Europe on the 21st accompanied by two young Mahomedans from the same part of the country named Asif Ali and Rauf Ali. Arriving in Europe Haidar Raza went first to Paris, where he stayed a week; he fell out with Shyamaji Krishnavarma over the scholarship and was told to go to London, where he would have free board and lodging at the India House. He joined that institution in February, 1909, and remained there as a free boarder up to the time of the murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie (1st July, 1909). During part of the time he acted as manager of the India House under instructions from Krishnavarma. In September, 1909, he went to Oxford where he worked as a coach and read law, passing his law examination in 1913. During this time he did nothing to attract attention except that he wrote a letter to the *Tribune* of Lahore, which was published in that paper on October 9th, indignantly denying that he had been manager of, or had had any connection with India House. He did not come to notice again till 1917, when he defended the accused in the case of conspiracy to poison Mr. Lloyd George.

HAR DAYAL, M.A. Born about 1884, son of the late Lala Gauri Dayal, Kayasth by caste, who was reader in the District Court at Delhi. (See index.)

HAZRA, AMRITA LAL, alias SASANKA SEKHAR ROY, alias NASU. Belongs to Srinagar, Dacca District. He is an expert lathi-player and was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and of Kartik Dutt's *Yugantar* gang. He was wanted for the Barrah dacoity, but absconded, and was not heard of again till he was arrested in November, 1913, in the Raja Bazar bomb case.

HUSAIN RAHIM, alias CHAGAN KHAIRAJ VARMA. Born about 1865, son of a Lohana Bania, of Porbandar State, Kathiawar. An account of his earlier career will be found at page 236. When he was arrested in Vancouver in 1910, in connection with deportation proceedings, a notebook was found in his possession containing a list of Indian revolutionary agitators and memoranda for the preparation of nitroglycerine. He was again arrested in connection with the murder of Mr. Hopkinson in October, 1914, for conspiracy, but released. At the time of his arrest many letters to him from Taraknath Das were found. He was representative in Canada of the Hindusthan Association.

ISHRI PARSHAD. Born about 1883, son of Behari Lal, Khattri, of Muttra; resident of Lahore. He took a leading part in [420] the agitation in 1907, and in 1909 started the seditious newspaper *Bedari*. He was convicted of sedition, as editor of this paper, in 1910, and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment. On his release in 1912 he returned to Lahore.

JADHAV, MADHAVRAO BHAGWANTRAO. Born about 1873, son of Bhagwantrao Jadhav, Maratha, of Baroda. He was an intimate

friend of Arabindo Ghose, who lived in his house for two years when he was in Baroda, and he opened a fund for Arabindo's defence in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case. (See page 136). In 1905 he studied military training in Europe, and in 1907, under a recommendation from the Russian Legation, he was permitted to study the Swiss army and its organisation, but he left at the end of the manoeuvres through fear of being detected by the British officers who were present. He was for a time Adjutant of the Gaekwar's body-guard, and in 1913 he was a captain in the 2nd Regiment of the State Infantry.

JAGAT RAM, alias SANT RAM. Son of Dithi Ram, of Hariana, Hoshiarpur District. He is known to have been one of Har Dayal's right-hand men in the *Ghadr* conspiracy in San Francisco. In August, 1914, he left San Francisco for India, *viâ* Japan and Manila. On his arrival in India he attempted to smuggle several revolvers off the ship, but being unable to do so hid them in the cabin of the ship's surgeon where they were afterwards found. He was eventually arrested in November, 1914, in Peshawar and interned.

JASWANT RAI, M.A. Born about 1875, son of Chura Mani, Agarwal Bania, of Hissar. In 1904 he started the *Punjabee* newspaper in Lahore, and in 1906 he was prosecuted for an article suggesting that a native policeman had been murdered by his superior officer, a European. He was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 1,000 which was reduced in appeal to six months. The paper did not improve much after his release till it was taken over by a syndicate in February, 1910. He then gave up journalism and started business in Karachi.

JAYASWAL, KASHI PRASAD. Born about 1883, son of Mahadeo Prasad Kalwar, one of the wealthiest men in Mirzapore, head of the firm of Kashi Prasad, Mahadeo Prasad and Company, lac and carpet merchants. He was sent to England in 1906 to read law, and there he associated with V. D. Savarkar, V. V. S. Aiyar and other revolutionaries. He left England in June, 1910, and on his way to India visited Cairo and Damietta where he stayed with his friend Hamided-Alaily, a rabid Egyptian Nationalist. During his visit here Jayaswal was heard to express very strong anti-British views. He was enrolled as an advocate of the High Court of Calcutta on the 9th August, 1910. In July, 1913, the Government of India refused to sanction his appointment as lecturer of the Calcutta University on account of his bad record.

JOSHI, DAMODAR HARI. Born about 1885, son of Hari Joshi, Deshasth Brahmin, of Kolhapur. He was concerned in a [421] plot to murder Lord Curzon on his departure from Bombay, and in 1906 he was sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment for dacoity. He was the head of the Kolhapur plot to murder Colonel Ferris, the Resident, and for this he was sentenced in 1910 to 7 years' imprisonment.

JOSHI, DATTATRAYA PANDURANG. Son of Pandurang Joshi of Pipri, Aurangabad. He was an old friend of A. L. Kanhere, the Nasik murderer, and was sentenced in 1910 to 2 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

JOSHI, TRIMBAK PURUSHOTTAM. Born about 1876, son of Purushottam Joshi, Chitpawan Brahmin, of Ratnagiri District. He was

convicted of defacing with filth the statue of Queen Victoria in Bombay and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment.

JOSHI, WAMAN GOPAL. Born about 1878, son of Gopalrao Joshi, of Ratnagiri, Bombay, and Amraoti, Central Provinces. In 1904 he established a club at Amraoti where Shivaji and Ganpati celebrations were held. In October, 1908, he was bound over for a year under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, for delivering seditious lectures. He was a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society, and a protégé of G. S. Khaparde.

KANE, BALKRISHNA HARI. Born about 1890, son of Hari Appaji, of Yeotmal. He was mentioned by one of the principal accused in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case as having been sent by G. S. Khaparde from Amraoti to Calcutta to learn bomb-making from them. In the conspiracy case he was sentenced to 7 years' transportation, but acquitted in appeal to the High Court.

KANJILAL, HRISHIKESH. Born about 1880, son of Amarnath Kanjilal, of Serampore, Bengal. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy and sentenced to 10 years' transportation.

KAR, CHANDI CHARAN. Born about 1875, son of Jugal Kishore Kar, Kayasth, of Mendiganj, Bakarganj District. He was a member of the Barisal Conspiracy and absconded when the case came on. He was subsequently arrested and convicted on his own plea of guilty, and sentenced in May, 1915, to 3 years' imprisonment.

KAR, NIBARAN CHANDRA. Born about 1888, son of Pitambar Kar, Kayasth, of Bakarganj District. He was convicted in the Barisal Conspiracy case and sentenced in January, 1914, to 10 years' transportation.

KAR, SURENDRA NATH. Son of Nando Kisore Kar, of Jogpetta, Faridpur District. He was a student of the National College, Calcutta, and left India for Japan in August, 1910. In July, 1911, he arrived in America and took up his residence in Seattle. He was Secretary for the West America of the Hindusthan Association. He was a great friend of Surendra Mohan Bose, and it was through him that Bose sent the bomb manual to Harnam Singh of Sahri. (See index). [422].

KARANDIKAR, RAGHUNATH PANDURANG. Born about 1857, son of Pandurang Karandikar, Brahmin, of Pandharpur, Sholapur District. He has been for many years one of the leading pleaders in Satara; he is very well-mannered and popular with all classes in Satara, especially with the extremists, and is familiarly known as "Dada Saheb". Karandikar is one of B. G. Tilak's oldest friends and he is regarded as a thorough extremist who would gladly have the English turned out of India, but does not believe in violent methods which have no chance of success. When Tilak was arrested in 1908, Karandikar was the first to go off to see him in jail to arrange for his defence, and when he was convicted Karandikar left for England at the beginning of October, 1908, to assist with the appeal to the Privy Council. While in London he attended extremist meetings and was much in the society of leading agitators, but he was never known to speak in public and his presence at the "India House" was not reported. Though his views on politics

are very advanced he prefers to have the law on his side, and his influence on Tilak appears to tend towards moderation.

KARMAKAR, PRABHAT CHANDRA. Born about 1878, son of Hari Kishore Karmakar, of Lohajang, Dacca District. In March, 1913, he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla.

KASHIKAR, SAKHARAM RAGHUNATH. Born about 1885, son of Raghunath Kashikar, Deshasth Brahmin, of Nasik. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

KEDAR NATH SEGHAL. Born about 1888, son of Bhag Mal, of Lahore. In 1907 he was an associate of Ajit Singh and was concerned in the Lahore riots. He was reported to have formed a society to assassinate the King Emperor during the Durbar, and on his house being searched a revolver, a knife and a printing press with type set for a *Yugantar* leaflet were found.

KELKAR, NARSINH CHINTAMAN, B.A., LL.B. Born about 1872, son of Chintaman Kelkar, Konkanasth Brahmin, of Ratnagiri District. He has been engaged in political agitation since 1895, when he joined B. G. Tilak in Poona. At first he assisted Tilak in bringing out the *Mahratta*, and afterwards became the declared editor. The *Mahratta* has always been conducted on extreme lines, but Kelkar is more moderate than his chief and the paper has always escaped a prosecution under the Indian Penal Code. In the issue for 26th July, 1908, he published an article on the Tilak case on account of which he was found guilty of contempt by the High Court of Bombay on the 29th September, 1908, and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000 and to imprisonment for 14 days or until he apologised. He submitted an apology and was released on October 13th. For his "want of firmness" in this matter he was thrown over by the Poona extremists and granted leave as editor of the *Mahratta*. When the affair had blown over he was resorted to his former post and he continues to edit the paper.

KELKAR, VISHNU GANESH. Born about 1886, son of Ganesh Kelkar, Chitpawan Brahmin, of Nasik. In December, [423] 1910, he was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

KHADILKAR, KRISHNAJI PRABHAKAR, B.A. Born about 1871, son of Prabhakar Khadilkar, Chitpawan Brahmin, a landed proprietor of Sangli State. He came to notice in 1899 in Poona in connection with the Shivaji celebrations and the reception given the same year to the Natu brothers on their release from deportation in the matter of the Poona murders (see page 20). He was for years closely connected with the *Kesari* newspaper, and became editor after Tilak's conviction. Ideas which afterwards bore fruit in Bengal appear to have seen the light first in this much abler coterie in Poona, for, as early as September, 1905, we find Khadilkar lecturing on the 'Bhagwat Gita', with N. C. Kelkar presiding, and also on 'Animal Sacrifice' with B. G. Tilak in the chair. The lesson he took from the Gita was "not despair of success but to leave everything to God," and on the Hindu doctrine of sacrifice he advised that "as many human lives as would appease the goddess of Independence should be sacrificed for the political regeneration of India". These are the principles which the Bengali revolutionaries

borrowed, developed, and applied prematurely as the Poona extremists thought. Khadilkar is the author of some objectionable dramas including *Kichak Vadh*, (the murder of Kichak), a play based on the Purans but believed to be intended to have an allegorical application to the state of India when it was written, Kichak, who was murdered for his sins, being Lord Curzon.

KHANKOJI, PANDURANG SIDASHIV. Son of Sidashiv Khankoji, of Wardha District. As a student in Corvallis (Oregon) and in Pullman (Washington) he was in close touch with many members of the revolutionary party on the Pacific Coast, and was commended, in 1913, in a letter by G. D. Kumar to Harnam Singh of Sahri as a person with whom the latter should correspond. He lived for a time at Idaho with Kashi Ram who was afterwards sentenced to death in India in the Ferozeshahr murder case. He left America for India in 1914 but was left behind in Italy, some of his belongings being brought to India by Kashi Ram.

KHAPARDE, GANESH SRIKRISHNA, B.A., LL.B. Born about 1857, son of Srikrishna Khaparde, Brahmin, of Amraoti. An account of the career of this prominent agitator will be found at page 26.

KHARE, KRISHNAJI GOPAL, M.A. Born about 1886, son of Gopal Khare, Chitpawan Brahmin, of Poona. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

KISHEN SINGH. Born about 1873, son of Arjan Singh, Jat of Jullundur and Lahore. He is a brother of the notorious Ajit Singh, and took an active part in the disturbances in Lahore in 1907; he was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in the Lahore riot case. In 1909 he was concerned in flooding the Punjab with seditious literature and for this he was convicted in March, 1910, and sentenced to ten months' imprisonment.

KOLHATKAR, ACHUYT BALWANT, B.A., LL.B. Born about 1875, son of Balwant Kolhatkar a retired Extra Assistant [424] Commissioner of the Central Provinces. He was adopted by an uncle and brought in Poona and Bombay. Returning to Nagpur he became a prominent agitator and edited the *Desha Sewak*. As editor he was convicted of sedition, in December, 1908, and sentenced to 2½ years' imprisonment which was reduced on appeal to 15th months. In 1910 he absconded from Nagpur, on account of his connection with persons concerned in the Aundh Conspiracy case, and was traced under the name C. P. Row in Pondicherry, where he was frequently seen in the company of Arabindo Ghose. He afterwards returned to the Central Provinces, and posed as a reformed character in order to get back his *sanad* as LL.B., which had been suspended by the High Court of Bombay.

KONKAR, ANANT VISHNU. Born about 1888, son of Vishnu Konkar, Karhada Brahmin, of Poona. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

KRISHNA, DR. NARAYAN. This remarkable personage is believed to be the third son of Keshav Gopal Joshi, Brahmin, of the Ratnagiri District. He was educated in Bombay, where he lived for a time with Dr. Deshmukh at Girgaon. In 1896 he was sent to Japan to learn glass-making and is said to have married a Japanese girl there; he has not

returned to India since, and he first came to notice in America in 1906 under the name of Dr. Krishna. He was said by the newspapers to be "making a tour of observation in America" and to be going round the United States "with the object of disclosing to the world the true condition of his native land." The subject he dealt with from the usual extremist point of view in such remote spots as Butte City (Montana State) and Portland (Oregon).

On the 29th July, 1908, Dr. N. Krishna wrote to Sir Edward Grey from Springfield, Illinois, United States of America, describing himself as "A high-caste Hindu but an American at heart." His object in addressing Sir Edward Grey was to ascertain whether, in view of his exposure of the reasons of famine, plague and starvation in India, and his denunciation of English tyranny, he would be safe in coming to England for a few months, his visit to the latter country being in connection with two books which he intended to write. He did not, however, he said, intend to return to his native country until she had a Parliament of her own.

On the 30th November, 1908, at New York Dr. Krishna was one of a party amongst whom were Mahomed Barakatullah and others; during the conversation he reiterated his denunciation of English rule, and said he was a member of the Revolutionary and Socialistic League and could travel about anywhere without any difficulty. In December, 1908, he went to Brussels where he delivered a series of lectures on British tyranny in India. In August, 1910, Dr. Krishna was seen at the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen, where he met V. V. S. Aiyar; he was again at Copenhagen in February, 1912, and said that he was "from the Calcutta University," and posed as a exile who had got into political trouble. The Danes looked upon him as a martyr, and he got a great deal of sympathy. He was well received in society and was seen at the house of a well-known Danish professor. He gave free expression to anti-British views and got quite excited on the subject when opposed. [425].

In 1913 he was back in New York, and again went lecturing through the United States. In March, 1916, a letter containing the following passage was written by his German wife from Cincinnati :—

"We find ourselves here in an almost German town. Nana will speak on Sunday in two churches (German-Evangelical). On Friday there will be a mass meeting to hear him give a lecture on "what a German victory means for Asia and India." He is beginning already to be very sharply watched by the Government here. The English have too much influence here and would like to suppress him. Spies follow us from town to town and they try to spread reports that he is in the pay of the German Government, which is a horrible lie. He has been fighting against England for 24 years, as you know, in order to liberate his beloved, suffering, enslaved country from the English yoke." In April, 1916, the *San Francisco Times* published a telegram from its Chicago correspondent giving the substance of an interview with Dr. Krishna who alleged that within the next 8 months British rule in India would come to an end.

KUMAR, GURAN DITTA, alias GURU DATT. Belongs to Bannu. An account of his earlier career will be found at page 230. In 1913 he went on from America to Manila, where he was engaged in supervising the work of the *Ghadr* party in the Far East. Amongst the correspondence of Harnam Singh of Sahri were several letters from G. D. Kumar showing that he was working hard on behalf of the cause. He was in constant touch with Bhagwan Singh and Barakatullah, and was collecting money for the *Ghadr* campaign and sending it to Har Dayal. He afterwards went to Japan, where he busied himself meeting *Ghadr* parties passing through Yokohama on the way to India.

LAHIRI, JITENDRA NATH. Son of Sashi Bhusan Lahiri, of Serampore, Hooghly District. As a student at Berkeley, California, he became a prominent member of the *Ghadr* party and assisted in the management of the *Ghadr* press. At the end of 1914 he was sent as an emissary of the *Ghadr* party to Germany, and he was there from December, 1914, to February, 1915. From Germany he was sent to India with money and messages for the revolutionary party in Bengal and shortly after his arrival he was arrested and interned.

LAHIRI CHAUDHURI, JATINDRA KANTA. Born about 1895, son of Abani Kanta Lahiri, of Ishwarganj, Mymensingh District. He was a member of the local revolutionary society, and was one of the dacoits wounded and arrested in the Sarachar dacoity (Mymensingh District) in 1911. He was convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in that case.

LAJPATRAI, LALA. Born about 1865, son of Radha Kishen Jain (Khatri) by caste, of Jagraon in the Ludhiana District. He started life as a pleader at Hissar in 1891, and moved next year to Lahore. In 1897 he gave up most of his legal work and devoted himself to the Arya Samaj of which he became a preacher. An [426] account of his part in the trouble in the Punjab in 1907 will be found at page 23; he is in America, and it is at present unlikely that he will return to India. (See index).

LAL CHAND, FALAK. Born about 1883, son of Diwan Chand Khatri, of Lahore. A writer of seditious poetry and prose. In 1910 he was sentenced to a total of four years' imprisonment for sedition, which reduced on appeal to eight months. In June, 1917, he was again convicted of sedition and sentenced to transportation for life, which was reduced to ten years. He is considered by those who know him to be a miserable creature, yet to be reckoned with by reason of his facile pen.

LANKE, LAKSHMAN MAHADEV, alias BALKRISHNA MAHADEV DESHPANDE. Born about 1885, son of Mahadev Lanke, of Yeotmal and Benares. In May, 1907, he assaulted the headmaster of the Anglo-Vernacular School at Yeotmal, and absconded to Benares when proceedings were taken. He was taken to Gwalior by Captain Ramchandra Rao Soni of the 4th Battery, Gwalior Army, and there he became bomb expert to the Abhinav Bharat Society. He was convicted in the Gwalior Conspiracy case (see page 186) and sentenced to six years' transportation.

LASKAR, ADHAR CHANDRA. Born about 1876, son of Nadiar Chand, *alias* Dina Bandhu Laskar, of Jessore District. He was mentioned as a member of the first revolutionary society started in Calcutta about 1904, and in January, 1906, he left for Japan for technical study. In 1908 he went on to America, and after course of a military training at Mount Tamalpais Military Academy he became a student at Berkeley. He was a friend of Taraknath Das, and in April, 1910, he was reported to be studying chemistry with a view to learning the manufacture of explosives. In 1914 he was at Corvallis (Oregon) and Taraknath Das was staying with him there. He was a friend of Surendra Mohan Bose, and is frequently mentioned in his note-book.

LIAKAT HUSAIN. Born about 1852, son of Mir Ali Khan, of Calcutta. This elderly Mahomedan agitator belongs to the Patna District and is said to be of immoral character. He was employed as a paid political agitator by the Hindus, and in January, 1908, he was convicted of sedition at Barisal and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. He was released in 1910 and returned to Calcutta, where he made himself conspicuous as he had done before, by holding *swadeshi* meetings in the public squares and processions in the streets. For heading a prohibited procession in Calcutta on August 7th, 1912, he was fined Rs. 100. He is himself a person of no importance but has proved a somewhat troublesome tool of the Hindu agitators.

LIMAYE, BALWANT SHANKAR. Born about 1872, son of Shankar Limaye, Chitpawan Brahmin, of Sholapur. In 1908 was convicted of sedition as editor of the *Swarajya* (self-Government) of Sholapur, and sentenced to 3½ years' imprisonment.

MANDE, SHANKAR RAO. Son of Shridhar Mande, of Raipur, Central Provinces. He was Revenue Inspector in Bastar State [427] in 1893, and in 1897 a Tehsildar. He was arrested for sedition in March, 1911, when his house was searched and quantity of seditious literature and correspondence seized. In September, 1911, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

MANOHAR, VINAYAK WASUDEV. Born about 1891, son of Wasudev Manohar, of Kolaba District. He was a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society, and in December, 1910 was sentenced in the Nasik Conspiracy case to six months' imprisonment.

MARATHE, TRIMBAK GANGADHAR. Born about 1884, son of Gangadhar Marathe, of the Ratnagiri District. In December, 1910, he was convicted in the Nasik Conspiracy case and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

MAULIK, PORESH CHANDRA. Born about 1888, son of Jadab Chandra Maulik, of Rangpur District. In 1905 he and several other youths were expelled from the District School for refusing to pay fines of Rs. 5 each, imposed on account of their shouting *Bande Mataram* in the street and attending political meetings. These youths formed the nucleus of the Rangpur National School. In 1906 he went to Calcutta and joined the Maniktolla gang. He was sentenced to seven years' transportation in the Maniktolla Conspiracy case, but released in December, 1911, on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar.

MAZUMDAR, BHABA RANJAN. Born about 1875, son of Harish Chandra Mazumdar, of Srinagar, Dacca District. He was a prominent agitator in Barisal and a member of the proscribed Bandhab Samiti. He was agent for the sale of the *Yugantar*, *Bande Mataram*, and other seditious papers, and composed and published several series of seditious songs. In January, 1909 he was convicted of sedition and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

MAZUMDAR, SURESH CHANDRA. Born about 1891; belongs to Kalu, Burdwan, Bengal. He was a member of Kartik Dutt's *Yugantar* gang and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the Bighati dacoity case. He was also prosecuted in the Bajitpur dacoity case, but acquitted.

MISRA, REWA PRASAD. Born about 1887, son of Rai Saheb Jagannath Prasad Misra, pleader, of Hoshangabad, Central Provinces. In October, 1909, he went to England to read for the bar along with S. Dubé and V. P. Dubé. In London and Paris he associated with the revolutionary party, and in 1915, being found, along with the Dubés, to be in touch with Indian revolutionaries in Berlin, he was arrested and interned.

MITTER, BHABA BHUSAN. Born about 1888, son of Shama Charan Mitter, Kayasth, of Kaliganj, Bengal. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, but absconded. He was eventually arrested and sentenced in June, 1910 to 5½ years' imprisonment.

MITTER, GOPAL CHANDRA. Son of Basanta Kumar Mitter, Kayasth, of Bakarganj District. In January, 1914, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation in the Barisal Conspiracy case.

MITTER, KRISHNA KUMAR. Born about 1853 in Tangail, Mymensingh District. He is editor of the *Sanjibani*, and was a [428] prominent leader in the anti-partition agitation. He was conspicuous in working up the Volunteer movement, and towards the end of 1908 he was closely connected with the Anusilan Samiti of Calcutta; his house, where Sachindra Prasad Bose then resided, was believed to be the real headquarter of the society. He was one of the nine leading agitators deported in December, 1908. The press where the *Sanjibani* is printed is in the same building as his house, and in this press the *Suprabhat* Magazine, edited by his daughter Miss Kumudini Mitter was also printed (see page 87). His son Sukumar Mitter (see below) is a dangerous young man.

MITTER, NISHI BHUSAN, alias MANIK CHANDRA. Born about 1890, son of Lalit Mohan Mitter, of Jessore District. In the Anusilan Samiti he was one of the trusted assistants of Pulin Behari Das who used to depute him to organise new branches. In August, 1911, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case; this was reduced to two years on appeal to the High Court.

MITTER, PHANINDRA NATH. Born about 1885, son of Nogendra Nath Mitter, Kayasth, of Panihati, Khurda, Bengal. He was twice convicted of sedition as printer of the *Yugantar* (see page 71).

MITTER, SACHINDRA. Born about 1879, son of Gopal Lal Mitter, of Khulna District. In August, 1910, he was sentenced to seven years' transportation in the Nangla Conspiracy case.

MITTER, Dr. SARAT CHANDRA. Born about 1870, son of Nagendra Nath Mitter. Confidential information indicated that he was one of the most important older men behind the conspiracy whose members formed the Howrah gang; he was acquitted along with the others in that case. He was implicated in an attempt to tamper with the loyalty of the 10th Jats, and a case against him was instituted under Section 131, Indian Penal Code, but withdrawn.

MITTER, SUKUMAR. Born about 1888, son of Krishna Kumar Mitter (see above). He was a member of the *Yugantar* gang in Calcutta, and was implicated in cipher correspondence with Virendranath Chattopadhyaya in Paris regarding the importation of arms into India for revolutionary purposes. (See page 198).

MODAK, GANESH BALWANT. Born about 1870, son of Balwant Modak, Chitpawan Brahmin, of Bombay. He was sub-editor of the seditious *Rashtramata* newspaper, and in 1909 he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for publishing B. C. Pal's *Swaraj* magazine. He was concerned in the Kolhapur plot to murder Colonel Ferris, and for his share in this he was sentenced in March, 1910, to seven years' transportation.

MOHAMED ALI, B.A. Born about 1878, son of a wealthy Zemindar of Rampur State. In 1898 he obtained a degree at the Allahabad University, and went to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service, but failed. He took the B.A. degree at Oxford and returned to India in 1902. In 1907 he became a prominent lecturer of the Moslem League which had just been formed. In January, 1911, he started the *Comrade*, an English weekly, in Calcutta. It was very cleverly edited and first was merely [429] amusing but in 1912 he began to adopt a pan-Islamic tone, and to work up amongst young Mahomedans feelings of exasperation in connection with the Turko-Italian War and affairs in Persia. The transfer of the capital to Delhi caused him to move his press there, and first issue of the *Comrade* in Delhi appeared on 12th October, 1912. Here he continued to foment Mahomedan grievances, chiefly, in 1913, on the subject of the Balkan War and the Cawnpore Mosque incident, and in August, 1913, security of Rs. 2,000 was demanded from him under the Press Act. In Delhi he also published an Urdu paper called the *Hamdard* on the same lines as the *Comrade*. In 1914 the tone of both papers gradually became worse, and in November the security deposited in respect of them was forfeited. In March, 1915, on account of his expressed sympathy with Turkey his place of residence was restricted, and later he was interned at Chhindwara in the Central Provinces.

MUKHERJI, ATUL CHANDRA. Born about 1883, son of Gurupada Mukherji, of Sibpur, Howrah District. In April, 1910, he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the Haludbari dacoity case, and a year later to one year more in the Howrah gang case.

MUKHERJI, DHAN GOPAL. Born about 1888, son of Kishori Mohan Mukherji, of Tamluk, Midnapore. He is a brother of Jadu Gopal Mukherji, who was implicated in the German plot (see page 278). His cousin Bima Charan Banerji was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for a murderous assault on Sergeant Walters of the Cal-

cutta Police in October, 1907. He was sent to Japan for his education in 1909, and went on to America where he became a student at Berkeley and joined the *Ghadr* party. The correspondence of Surendra Mohan Bose showed that he was creating an impression among his friends in California who regarded him as a coming man.

MUKHERJI, HARI NATH, *alias* HARI KISHORE MUKHERJI, *alias* Dr. MUKHERJI. Born about 1864, son of Tara Nath Mukherji, of Calcutta. He passed the L.M.S. examination in Calcutta, and in 1897 went to Ambala where he opened a shop for the sale of medicines. His address was found in the note-book of the Maniktolla conspirators and he is known to be a sympathiser with revolutionaries. The shop in Ambala is believed to have been used as a rendezvous for extremists from Bengal and other provinces visiting the Punjab.

MUKHERJI, JADU GOPAL, *alias* DR. MUKHERJI. Born about 1885, son of Kishori Mohan Mukherji, of Tamluk, Midnapore District. He came to notice in Calcutta in 1909 as an intimate friend of Provash Dey, and joined the Calcutta branch of the Anusilan Samiti at 49, Cornwallis Street. He gradually became an important revolutionary leader, and in March, 1915, information was obtained that Jotin Mukherji, then in concealment near Balasore (see page 280), had ordered members of his party to take instructions from Jadu Gopal Mukherji. He took a prominent part in the German plot to import arms into India. At this period he was a 6th year student of the Medical College, and was going up for the M.B. examination later in the year. [430]

MUKHERJI, KIRON CHANDRA. Born about 1883, son of Amrita Lal Mukherji, of Abhoynagar, Jessore District. He was a member of the local branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and of Kartik Dutt's *Yugantar* gang. In February, 1909, he was convicted of sedition as author of a pamphlet called *Pantha* and sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.

MUKHERJI, NONI GOPAL. Born about 1890, son of Annada Charan Mukherji of Chinsura, Bengal. He fell into the hands of the Chandernagore gang of anarchists, and at their instigation threw the Dalhousie Square bomb. In March, 1911, he was sentenced to 14 years' transportation in that case.

MUKHERJI, SAILESH NATH. Born about 1892, son of Troilokhya Nath Mukherji, of Srinagar, Dacca District. In January, 1914, he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in the Barisal Conspiracy case.

MUKHERJI, SANTI PADA, *alias* PROMOTHO, *alias* ACHYUTANANDA BASAK. Born about 1890, son of Sita Nath Basak, of Dacca. He was a prominent member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and suspected in the murder of Sukumar Chakravarti. He absconded after the attempted dacoity at Bhojeswar (Faridpur) and was arrested at Agartola disguised as a *sanyasi* (devotee) in November, 1909, at the time of the Lieutenant-Governor's visit. Being unable to give a satisfactory account of himself he was bound down under section 109, Criminal Procedure Code. He was implicated in the Raita dacoity, and sentenced in the Dacca Conspiracy case to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. This was reduced by the High Court in appeal to three years.

MUKHERJI, SATISH CHANDRA, *alias* **MUKTANANDA SWAMI**. Born about 1886, son of Hem Chandra Mukherji, of the 24-Parganas District. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and in December, 1908, was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment under the Arms Act. He then became a *sanyasi* (devotee) and wandered about India from the Punjab to Assam.

MULLICK, SUBODH CHANDRA. Born about 1870. He is of good family and a nephew of Mr. M. N. Mullick, Bar-at-Law, who once stood for Parliament for Hanover Square, London. He was educated amongst other places at Cambridge. After the Partition of Bengal he took a prominent part in the agitation against it and later joined the extremists. His importance lay in his being their main financial support. He is believed to have given a lakh of rupees to the National College, which earned for him from the extremists the title of "Raja." Subodh Mullick was practically the sole proprietor of the "Bande Mataram Company, Limited," and, as such, financed Arabindo Ghose's paper of the same name. It was apparently intended to propagate sedition, as at one of the searches in Calcutta a written legal opinion was found on the question how far the shareholders would be responsible for fines if the printer was convicted of sedition. He was connected with the Maniktolla bomb conspiracy; Arabindo Ghose was his friend and used to reside at his house, and it was through Arabindo Ghose's brother Barindra, the head of the gang, that Subodh subscribed to the funds of the *Yugantar*. The fact of his having so subscribed was proved by accounts which were found. Subodh Mullick was one of the nine agitators deported in December, 1908. [431] His case aroused very little comment considering his wealth and status.

MUNJE, BALKRISHNA SHIVRAM, *alias* **DR. MOONJE**. Born about 1875, son of Shivram Munje, Brahmin, of Poona. A short account of his career will be found at page 28.

MUNSHI RAM, JIJYASU. He has been for many years one of the most prominent members of the Gurukul section of the Arya Samaj, and founded the Gurukul (Hindu National School) at Kangri, near Hardwar. He is a somewhat rabid nationalist, and author of an objectionable book called "The Arya Samaj and its Detractors", in which under the pretext of defending the Arya Samaj, he makes offensive attacks on other religions. He should not be confused with the following person.

MUNSI RAM, SEWAK. Son of Jagira Mal, Brahmin, of Gurdaspur. In Lahore he was an active member of Ajit Singh's party, and he was for some time on the staff of the seditious *Swarajya* (Self-Government) paper of Allahabad. In March, 1910, he was convicted of sedition in Lahore and sentenced to seven years' transportation.

MUSHIR HUSAIN QIDWAI. Born about 1867, son of Shaikh Ahmad Hussain, of Bara Banki District. Since his visit to Constantinople in 1906, when he was decorated with an order by the Sultan, he has been a strong pan-Islamist. In January, 1913, he started along with Maulvi Abdul Bari, the *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba* (Society of Servants of Kaaba) of which the nominal object is to protect the Kaaba at Mecca and the other holy places of Islam from non-Mahomedan aggression. In November, 1913, he took a leading part in attempting to create

a rapprochement between the Mahomedans and the Hindu nationalists. When the Turks joined in the war he expressed his sympathy with them, and he was regarded as one of the leading pro-Turkish agitators in India.

NAG, BHUPESH CHANDRA, B.A. Born about 1888, son of the late S. C. Nag, a Sub-Judge belonging to Barodi, Narayanganj, Dacca District. The Nag family is very powerful in Barodi and the surrounding country. In 1908 Bhupesh had three cousins Sub-Judges, and one a Sub-Inspector of Police, and a brother-in-law, J. C. Ghose, was a Deputy Magistrate. He was just finishing his college career when he joined the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca and became second only to Pulin Behari Das in its management. He was an expert in lathi-play, boxing and Jiu-jitsu which he used to teach to the members of the Samiti. As Pulin Das's most able lieutenant he was deported along with him in December, 1908. After his release in February, 1910, he remained for some time in Calcutta, and afterwards returned to Dacca. He then seems to have withdrawn from association with the members of the Samiti and he was not proceeded against in the Dacca Conspiracy case.

NAG, KUMUD BANDHU. Born about 1888, son of Chandra Kumar Nag, Kayasth, of Brahmanbaria, Tippera District. In [432] March 1913, he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla, and in January, 1914, to 2 years' imprisonment in the Barisal Conspiracy case.

NAGARKAR, SHRIDHAR WAMAN. Born about 1888, son of Waman Nagarkar, of Nasik. He was a member of the Abinav Bharat Society, and in December, 1910, he was convicted in the Nasik Conspiracy case and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.

NAND GOPAL. Born about 1886, son of Bulaqi Ram Chopra, of Gujranwala and Lahore. He was prominent in the agitation in 1907, and editor of the seditions paper *Inquilab* of Lahore, which was suppressed in December, 1908, for publishing incitements to violence. In March, 1910, he was sentenced to 5 years' transportation as author of the book *Qaumi Islah* (National Improvement).

NANDEDKAR, MAHADEV ABAJI, alias SARMA. Son of Abaji Nandedkar, of Indore. He was rusticated from the Indore College, owing to his connection with members of the Nasik conspiracy, and ran away from home to America. Here he became an Associate Editor of the *Hindusthane Student*, the organ of the Hindusthan Association. He was a friend of Surendra Mohan Bose and his Indian address was found in Bose's pocket-book.

NAWAB KHAN. Son of Ghaus Khan, of Ludhiana District. He was an important member of the *Ghadr* party in the United States and an associate of Husain Rahim. He left San Francisco in August, 1914, and returned to India, visiting the German Consul at Canton on the way. On his return to the Punjab he became an important leader of the *Ghadr* dacoity gangs, and eventually arrested and interned.

NUNDY, INDRA NATH. Born about 1888, son of Col. S. C. Nundy, I.M.S. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy and sentenced to transportation for life but acquitted in appeal. His left

forearm is amputated, on account, it is believed, of an accident which happened when he was experimenting with explosives.

PAL, ATUL CHANDRA. Born about 1888, son of Brojo Nath Pal, of Nadia District. In September, 1908, he was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment for sending a bomb by post to the District Magistrate of Nadia.

PAL, BEPIN CHANDRA. Born about 1860; he belongs to Sylhet District. He went to England in 1903, and on his return to Calcutta in 1904 he started the *New India* paper which was at first moderate but gradually became seditious. When it failed he joined the staff of Arabinde Ghose's *Bande Mataram*. In 1905 and 1906 he addressed numerous boycott meetings, at which he made inflammatory speeches, in Calcutta and throughout Bengal and Eastern Bengal. He continued this proceeding in 1907, extending the sphere of his operations in February to Allahabad and in April to the Madras Presidency, [433] through which he toured for about a month delivering seditious speeches at many of the principal towns. He was at that time a thorough extremist and his exposition of *Sakti Puja* (The Worship of Power) connects him with the revolutionary movement. In August, 1908, he went to England and first associated there with Savarkar, Chattopadhyaya and others, but about the middle of 1909 he began to withdraw from the front rank. On his return to India in October, 1911, he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for sedition as editor of the *Swaraj* magazine which he had published while in England. Since then he has not been so conspicuous. His writings and speeches on the subject of Indian Nationalism are strongly expressed and will repay perusal. (See index).

PAL, SIRISH CHANDRA. Born about 1889, son of Sarat Chandra Pal, of Nawabganj, Dacca District. He was captain of the Nawabganj branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and was convicted in a *swadeshi* case in October, 1907. He was a member of the Subadhaya gang of dacoits. In July, 1916, he was arrested in Calcutta.

PAL, THAKUR DAS. Born about 1873, son of Kailash Chandra Pal, of Lohajang, Dacca District. In March, 1913, he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla, but acquitted by the High Court. In December, 1912, he was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment under section 457, Indian Penal Code.

PALANDE, WAMAN KASHINATH. Born about 1888, son of Kashinath Palande, Konkanasth Brahmin, of Poona. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

PARANJPE, DAMODAR CHINTAMAN. Born about 1888, son of Chintaman Paranjpe, Konkanasth Brahmin, of Poona. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

PARANJPE, SHIVRAM MAHADEV. Born about 1865, son of Mahadev Paranjpe, of Poona. A seditious speaker and writer of considerable influence, proprietor and editor of the *Kal* of Poona. (See index.)

PARMANAND, BHAI, M.A. Born about 1875, so of Tara Chand, Brahmin, of Jhelum and Lahore. He was educated at the D. A. V. College, Lahore, and was employed for many years as an itinerant lecturer

and preacher of the Arya Samaj, and later as a professor at the D.A.V. College. He was a strong supporter of Lala Lajpatrai and much under his influence. (See index.)

PATHAK, MUKUND LAL. Son of Purna Chand, Brahmin, of Jullundur District. He went to America in 1912, and became a student at Berkeley and a prominent member of the *Ghadr* party in San Francisco, associating with Har Dayal and Ram Chandra, Peshawari.

POI, KINU, alias PRIYANATH POI, son of Digambar Poi of Abhoynagar, Jessore District. He was a member of the local branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and in August, 1910, he was [434] sentenced to 5 years' transportation in the Nangla conspiracy case.

PRABH DAYAL, alias BANKE DAYAL. Born about 1878, son of Maya Das Chopra, of Gujranwala and Lahore. He was a third grade Head Constable of police, and being reduced for bad conduct he resigned. He took a prominent part in the agitation in Lahore and Lyallpur in 1907, and started the *Jhang Sial*, an objectionable paper, in Jhang. In 1908, he was imprisoned for a year for defamation. Under the Press Act security was taken in respect of his paper, and in 1913 it became so bad that the security of Rs. 2,000 was forfeited.

PURI, RAM NATH. Born about 1880, son of Jawala Mal Puri of Khem Karan, Lahore District. An account of his career in America, where he attained some prominence as an agitator, will be found at page 227.

RAKSHIT, HEMENDRA KISHORE. Born about 1887, son of Gobind Kishore Rakshit, of Keraniganj, Dacca District. He was educated in the National School of Dacca and Calcutta, and was a member of the Anusilan Samiti in both places. He was implicated in the Gopalpur (Malda District) dacoity of October, 1908, and was present in the National School Boarding House at Malda when it was searched in connection with that dacoity and seditious literature was found. In November, 1911, he left for America, and there, after war broke out, he became prominent in the German plots.

RAMA RAO, CHANJERI. Born about 1878, son of Shama Rao, Brahmin, of Vaniyambadi, Madras. He went to England in 1909 to study Sanitary Science, and associated with the leading Indian revolutionaries in London. He left London in January, 1910, for Paris, *en route* to India, and on his arrival in Bombay one of his boxes was found to have a false bottom containing an automatic pistol, 80 rounds of ammunition, and several copies of Savarkar's book on "The Indian War of Independence". On his person were found some revolutionary literature and instructions for making bombs. He was convicted and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment.

RAM BHAJ DUTT CHAUDHURI, B.A. Born about 1867, son of Radha Kishen, Brahmin, of Gurdaspur and Lahore. He was a leader of the local Arya Samaj, for which he often worked as secretary. In October, 1905, he married Miss Sarala Devi Ghosal, who was already prominent in Nationalist circles in Calcutta. In July, 1907, he became proprietor of the *Hindusthan* newspaper, which he purchased from Dina Nath and Ishri Parshad, when the former was convicted of sedition. In

1908 he was believed to be in touch with the leading revolutionaries in Lahore, but in 1909 he took steps to clear his character and since then he has not come under suspicion.

RAM CHANDRA, PESHAWARI. Born about 1887, son of Mitha Mal, Brahmin, of Peshawar District. In 1907 he was a [435] member of Ajit Singh's society in Lahore, and was prosecuted in the Lahore riot case but acquitted. He succeeded Pindi Das when he was convicted as editor of the *India* of Gujranwala, and was also for a time editor of the seditious paper *Akash* of Delhi. He left India for China and Japan in 1911, and went on in 1913 to San Francisco where he became editor of the *Ghadr* paper. (See index.)

RANJIT SINGH, JAIN. Son of Moti Lal, Jain, of the Ganesh Flour Mills, Delhi. He was a prominent member of the *Ghadr* conspiracy in San Francisco, and a particular friend of his fellow-townsmen Har Dayal, constantly associating with him and Ram Chandra Peshawari.

ROUTH, JOGESH CHANDRA, alias ROY, son of Rasik Chandra Rout or Roy, of Keraniganj, Dacca District. He was a prominent member of the Lindabaha branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and was arrested in connection with the Janmastami stabbing case in 1909 but discharged. He was again arrested in the Rajnagar dacoity case but released. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

ROY, BEJOY CHANDRA RAHA, alias PROMODE. Born about 1890, son of Raj Chandra Raha Roy, of South Maisundi, Dacca Town. As a member of the Anusilan Samiti, he was sentenced in the Dacca Conspiracy case to 7 years' imprisonment. He did not join in the appeal to the High Court, as he became insane, but he afterwards recovered and petitioned the Government of Bengal by which the sentence was reduced to 2 years.

ROY, CHARU CHANDRA. Born about 1867, son of Dayal Chandra Roy, of Bagbazar, French Chandernagore. He was a professor and sub-director of the Dupleix College in Chandernagore, and as a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy his extradition was obtained on the charge of abetment of the Muzaffarpore murders. As this charge failed he could not be detained in order to be prosecuted for the political offences of which the others were convicted, and he was released. He was regarded as an important leader of French Chandernagore gang of revolutionaries.

ROY, DEBENDRA NATH, alias JATINDRANATH, alias, FEKU. Born about 1892, son of Parbati Charan Roy, of Kushalganj, Nalchiti, Bengal. He was a student of the notorious Sonarang National School, and in April, 1911, he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for an assault on a postal peon committed by the boys and masters of that institution. This was reduced on appeal to a fine of Rs. 25. In January, 1914, he was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment in the Barisal Conspiracy case.

ROY, DEVASARMA SURENDRA CHANDRA, alias KUNJA BEHARI ROY. Born about 1890, son of Kailash Chandra Roy, of Keraniganj, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, but absconded when proceedings were taken and was untraced for a long time. He was eventually sentenced to [436] 10 years' impri-

sonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted on appeal to the High Court.

ROY, JOTIRMOY, *alias* BENGA, son of Mohim Chandra Roy, of Dacca town. He was captain of the Lakhi Bazar branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and sentenced in 1907, to 18 months' imprisonment in the Victoria Park (Dacca) stabbing case. A note-book belonging to him contained full details of the sword and dagger play practised in the Anusilan Samiti. He was convicted in the Dacca Conspiracy case and sentenced to transportation for life, but this was reduced to 6 years by the High Court in appeal.

ROY, KALA CHAND. Born about 1889, son of Jagat Chandra Roy, of Ramganj, Noakhali District. In March, 1913, he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla.

ROY, NIRAPADA, *alias* NIRMAL GANGULI, *alias* AMARENDRA BANERJI. Born about 1889, son of Rajani Kanta Roy, of Santipur, Nadia District. He was a member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in the case.

ROY, PRASANNA KUMAR. Born about 1873, son of Brindaban Chandra Roy, Kayasth, of Muradnagar, Tippera District. In March, 1913, he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla.

ROY, RADHIKA BHUSAN, *alias* MAKHAN LAL. Born about 1888, son of Girendra Bhusan Roy of Raghunathpur, Dacca District. He was a member of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and was implicated in the affray at Wari, Dacca, in 1907. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, which was reduced to 3 years by the High Court in appeal.

ROY, SURESH CHANDRA. Born about 1890, son of Bhagwan Chandra Roy, of Nawabganj, Bengal. In June, 1912, he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment under the Arms Act.

ROY, UPENDRA KISHORE. Born about 1890, son of Bhabani Krishna Roy, of Nandrail, Mymensingh District. He was arrested in the Sarachar dacoity case, in suspicious circumstances near the scene of the offence, but discharged. In November, 1915, he was found in Calcutta in the same house as a Bengali youth who had a loaded and cocked Mauser pistol of the Rodda consignment under his pillow.

ROY CHAUDHURI, JITENDRA NATH. Born about 1890, son of Debendra Nath Roy Chaudhuri, of Arbelia, Bengal. On 7th November, 1908, he attempted to shoot Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor, in the Overtoun Hall. On the 25th November he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for this offence.

ROY CHAUDHURI, NISHI KANTA, *alias* SATISH CHANDRA GHOSE. Son of Basanta Lal Roy Chaudhuri, of Gopalganj, Faridpur District. He was one of the *Paridarshaks* (Inspectors) of the Anusilan Samiti, and drill master of the Habiganj National School. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was [437] sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

ROY CHAUDHURI, TARA NATH. Born about 1878, son of Golok Chandra Roy Chaudhuri, of Lamchar, Noakhali District. He was a member of the Maniktolla gang, and in May, 1910, he was sentenced

to 3 years' imprisonment for being in possession of several revolvers and a quantity of ammunition. He was released from jail in October, 1912, and went to live in Benares.

ROY CHAUDHURI, UPENDRA LAL, alias KALIPADA GHOSE. Born about 1884, son of Behari Lal Roy Chaudhuri, of Faridpur District. He was arrested in the Raja Bazar bomb case. "Liberty" leaflets were found in his possession, and he was employed in the press where the leaflets were printed. He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in this case in June, 1914, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

SAMADHYAYA, PANDIT MOKHODA CHARAN. Born about 1874, son of Shyama Charan Kashnabis, of Paikpara, Dacca District. He usually resided in Benares and Calcutta, and after the death of Brahma Bandhab Upadhyaya he became manager of the *Sandhya*. He was a Professor of the National College, Calcutta, and the adviser and harbourer of the *Yugantar* gang of revolutionary dacoits. He was prosecuted in the Bighati dacoity case in 1909, but acquitted. He was again charged with harbouring four of the dacoits, but acquitted by a Howrah jury. He returned to Dacca in February, 1910. In 1911 he was back in Calcutta, and strongly suspected in connection with the murder of Head-Constable Suresh Chakravarti. He returned to Benares in December, 1911, and in December, 1913, he was prosecuted there in an Insurance fraud case, he was convicted in February, 1914, and sentenced to 3 years' imprisonment.

SARALA DEVI. Born about 1880, daughter of Mr. J. Ghosal, of Calcutta an old leader of the National Congress. She has a brother Mr. J. Ghosal, C.I.E., in the Indian Civil Service (Bombay). Sarala Devi's mother was Secretary of the Ladies' Theosophical Society of Calcutta, and Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the well-known Bengali poet is her uncle. Sarala Devi was not married at the customary early age as her parents desired that she should devote her life to the service of the country. She was one of the originators of the Swadeshi movement in Calcutta, long before the Partition, and tried to rouse the people by reviving old festivals, starting music clubs for the cultivation of national songs, and setting up a kind of 'Hero-worship' by means of plays describing the doings of the Hindu heroes of the past. She was one of the first to start lathi-play and sword exercise in Bengal, and from 1902 to 1904 she had an athletic club, where these exercises were taught, at her father's house at Ballygunge. The teacher was a certain 'Professor' Murtaza. The object of these movements was to rouse the national spirit and revive the national strength of Bengal, and the later disturbances in that province were the natural development of her work. In 1905 she was married [438] to Ram Bhaj Dutta Chaudhuri, Pleader of the Chief Court, Lahore. For some years afterwards they were both regarded as extremists, but since 1909 they have taken a much more moderate line.

SATHE, WASUDEV PURUSHOTTAM. Born about 1888, son of Purushottam Sathe, Konkanasth Brahmin, of Baroda. He started a press in Baroda in 1907 and published twelve books, three of them written by him, which had all to be proscribed by the Government of Bombay on account of their seditious nature. The press was closed in 1910

because it was used for printing sedition, but Sathe continued to write the same kind of stuff, and in February, 1912, he was bound over in Rs. 1,000 for two years.

SAVARKAR, GANESH DAMODAR, born about 1880 }
 SAVARKAR, VINAYAK DAMODAR, born about 1883 } sons
 SAVARKAR, NARAYAN DAMODAR, born about 1887 }

of Damodar Savarkar, Konkanasth Brahmin, a small landowner and money-lender of Bhajur in the Nasik District. Ganesh studied up to the Matriculation standard. Vinayak obtained the B.A. degree from the Fergusson College, Poona. The two elder brothers, Ganesh and Vinayak, were both prominent agitators in Nasik from about 1905, under the guidance of W. S. Khare.

They became leaders of the Mitra Mela, an association started about 1899 in connection with the Ganpati celebrations, and Ganesh personally supervised the teaching of drill, physical exercises and fencing to the Nasik youths. Vinayak prepared a 'Life of Mazzini' in 1905-06, and after his departure for England in June, 1906, with the help of Shyamaji Krishnavarma, Ganesh was left to supervise its printing and publication.

Ganesh was convicted at Nasik and sentenced to transportation for life for sedition on June 9th, 1909, and his brother Vinayak now head of the secret society in England, instigated, apparently in revenge for this, the murder of Sir William Curzon-Wylie on 1st July, 1909. The sentence passed on G. D. Savarkar was confirmed by the High Court of Bombay on November 18th, 1909, and this was followed by the second act of vengeance also instigated by Vinayak, the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik on December 21st, 1909. The third brother Narayan, came under some suspicion in connection with the bombs thrown at the Viceroy at Ahmedabad in November, 1909, but was not identified.

For abetment of the Nasik murder V. D. Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life; Narayan also was implicated in the case and sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment.

SEN, BHUPATI MOHAN. Son of Kamini Mohan Sen, of Lohajang, Dacca District. He was a member of the Wari branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and suspected in the Rajendrapur train dacoity. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, which was reduced by the High Court in appeal to 3 years.

SEN, HEM CHANDRA, born about 1883 }
 SEN, BIRENDRA CHANDRA } sons of Kailash [439]
 SEN, SOSHIL KUMAR, born about 1891 }

Chandra Sen, of Senpara, Sylhet. In August, 1907, Soshil was sentenced to a whipping of 15 stripes for assaulting the police. All three were concerned in the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and convicted in the case. On appeal to the High Court the Chief Justice was for the acquittal, and Mr. Justice Carnduff for the conviction of all. The third judge, to whom the case was referred, acquitted Hem Chandra and Soshil, and sentenced Birendra to transportation for 7 years.

SEN, MAKHAN LAL. Born about 1881, son of Guru Nath Sen, of Sonarang, Dacca District. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti, and proprietor of the notorious Sonarang National School. In 1908 his house was searched on information that he was preparing bombs, and

again in connection with the dacoities at Naria, Bhojeswar and Sarachar, but nothing incriminating was found. His name was found on the list of addresses in V. D. Savarkar's possession when he was arrested in London in 1910. His School was one of the centres of the conspiracy dealt with in the Barisal Conspiracy case. He was interned in 1916 under the Defence of India Act.

SEN GUPTA, CHARU CHANDRA. Son of Mahim Chandra Sen Gupta, of Lohajang, Dacca District. He was instructor in *lathi* play to the Anusilan Samiti of Dacca and was convicted in the Wari affray of 1907. He was employed also in obtaining recruits and visiting branch Samitis. He was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in the Dacca Conspiracy case, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

SEN GUPTA, HEMCHANDRA. Born about 1888, son of Govinda Sen Gupta, of Madhyapara, Dacca District. He was a member of the seditious society, and in 1908 he was bound down for a year under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. He was concerned in the Paragaon dacoity, and arrested for the Rajendrapur train robbery but released for want of evidence. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal.

SEN GUPTA, NONI GOPAL. Born about 1881, son of Khetra Sen Gupta, of Sibpur, Howrah District. He was one of the most important and dangerous leaders of the Howrah gang, and was implicated in the attempt to seduce the 10th Jats. He was prosecuted in the Howrah-Sibpur gang case but acquitted.

SEN GUPTA, NRIPENDRA MOHAN. Born about 1891, son of Bama Charan Sen Gupta, of Lohajang, Dacca District. He was a member of the Wari branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti and convicted in the Wari affray case of 1907. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment, which was reduced by the High Court to 3 years.

SEN GUPTA, PROFULLA CHANDRA. Born about 1887, son of Mohini Chandra Sen Gupta, of Lohajang, Dacca. He was a member of the Anusilan Samiti, and convicted in the Wari affray case of 1907. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment, which was reduced by the High Court to 3 years.

SEN GUPTA, SURESH CHANDRA. Born about 1887, son of Sarat Chandra Sen Gupta, of Lohajang, Dacca District. He was a [440] member of the Wari Branch of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, and prosecuted in the Wari affray case of 1907, but discharged. In 1911 he was sentenced to transportation for life by the High Court for the Rajendrapur train dacoity and murder.

SHAHA (BANIHYA), NITAI CHANDRA. Born about 1886, son of Radha Charan Shaha, of South Maisundi, Dacca town. He was a member of the Wari branch of the Anusilan Samiti, and teacher of wrestling in the Rangpur National School. In August, 1910, he was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment under the Arms Act. In the Dacca Conspiracy case he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment, but acquitted by the High Court in appeal in April, 1912.

SHANTI NARAYAN. Born about 1876, son of Mahohar Das Kayasth, of Muzaffarnagar and Lahore. He became prominent in the

agitation in 1907 by delivering seditious speeches in Lahore, and then went to Allahabad where he started the extremely seditious paper *Swarajya* (Self-Government). In July, 1908, he was convicted of sedition and sentenced to 3½ years' imprisonment.

SHAUKAT ALI. The elder brother of Mohamed Ali; he was a Sub-Deputy Agent in the Opium Department and retired about 1912, after which he took a leading part in his brother's pan-Islamic propaganda. He was appointed one of the secretaries of the *Khuddam-i-Kaaba* when this society was started in May, 1913. He has been interned along with his brother at Chhindwara in the Central Provinces.

SHEORE (or SHEVDE or SHEWADE), VINAYAK YESHWANT. Born about 1888, son of Yeshwant Sheore, of Indore. He claims to be related to the family of the Rani of Jhansi, a celebrated heroine of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. He was expelled from the Indore College on account of his connection with the Nasik Conspiracy. It was reported that after the conviction of B. G. Tilak he went along with Karve (afterwards hanged for the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik) to Poona, and consulted Tilak's followers as to whether they would approve the murder of Mr. Justice Daver. The leaders are said to have dissuaded them, and extracted a promise that no such outrage would take place. Sheore went to America in 1910 and lived for a time in Urbana, Illinois, and afterwards in Chicago. He was apparently still in touch with revolutionary work, as his name was found in the note-book of Surendra Mohan Bose.

SIDHAYE, SHRIDHAR WASUDEV. Born about 1880, son of Wasudev Sidhaye, Konkanasth Brahmin, of Poona. In December, 1910, he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment in the Nasik Conspiracy case.

SIL, HARI CHARAN. Born about 1877, son of Banga Charan Sil, of Tippera District. In March, 1913, he was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment in the case of attempted dacoity at Comilla.

SIRKAR, AMRITA LAL. Born about 1890, son of Manik Chand Sirkar, of Mirzapur, Mymensingh District. He was strongly suspected in the Kedarpur dacoity case of 1913, but absconded and became a dangerous leader of revolutionaries. He was arrested in Calcutta in September, 1916, and interned [441].

SIRKAR, BIBHUTI BHUSAN. Born about 1890, son of Saroda Sirkar, of Santipur, Nadia District. He was an important member of the Maniktolla Conspiracy, and was sentenced to 10 years' transportation in that case.

SIRKAR, NAGENDRA NATH. Born about 1883, son of Ganga-dhar Sirkar, of Sholepur, Narail, Bengal. He was a member of the local branch of the Anusilan Samiti and took part in the Nangla dacoity. In August, 1910, he was sentenced to 5 years' transportation in the Nangla Conspiracy case.

SIRKAR, RASIK CHANDRA. Born about 1894, son of Chandra Nath Sirkar, of Sanihati, Dacca District. He was strongly suspected in the Kedarpur dacoity case of August, 1913, and his house was searched but he absconded. He remained untraced till November, 1915, when

he was arrested at Dacca in connection with a discovery of arms, including a Mauser pistol of the Rodda consignment.

SIRKAR, SASHI KANTA. Born about 1885, son of Lakhi Kanta Sirkar, of Ashulia, Dacca District. He was connected with the Anusilan Samiti, and was strongly suspected in the Barrah dacoity after which he absconded. In 1909 he was convicted under the Arms Act. He was prosecuted in the Dacca conspiracy case but acquitted.

SUNDAR LAL, alias SOMESHWARANAND SWAMI. Born about 1882, son of Tula Ram, Kayasth, of Muzaffarnagar District. In his youth he was taken up by Lajpatrai and became an advanced nationalist. In Allahabad he edited the *Karmayogi*, an imitation of Arabindo Ghose's *Karmayogin* and also the *Hindi Pradip*, both of which were objectionable. When his papers came to an end under the operation of the Press Act in 1910 he became a religious devotee.

THAKUR DAS, alias GHULAM HUSAIN. Born about 1885, son of Sawan Ram, of Patiala State. In 1905 he went to America, where he came to notice as a seditious agitator, and returned to India in 1907. In 1908, while employed in Patiala, he sent for his friend Ram Das Suralia to come and deliver seditious lectures, and he was arrested in the Patiala sedition case. While on bail he absconded to Persia, and joined Ajit Singh and Amba Parshad under the name of Ghulam Husain. At the end of 1910, he reached Paris where he was seen in V. Chattopadhyaya's rooms, and in August, 1911, he was sent to America on a special mission by the Paris party to preach sedition amongst the Sikhs on the West Coast. He joined the *Ghadr* party in San Francisco, and collected subscriptions to enable Ajit Singh to come to America to help him in his task.

THATTE, JANARDAN NARSINH, alias JANARDAN BOA. Born about 1883, a Chitpawan Brahmin, of Bombay. He was a follower of the Sarvarkar brothers, and a member of the Abhinav Bharat society. To further the objects of that society he became a Ramdasi (devotee) and went about delivering seditious [442] lectures and experimenting in the making of bombs. He was closely connected with the Nasik Conspiracy, and K. G. Karve, who was hanged for the Nasik murder was his sister's step-son. He was concerned in an attempt to shoot Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, and was convicted of sending threatening letters to the Judges of the High Court of Bombay during the Nasik trial and sentenced to imprisonment for 3 years' and 2 months.

TIKHE, VINAYAK GOVIND. Born about 1884, son of Govind Tikhe, of Buldana District. He lived for a time with G. S. Khaparde at Amraoti, and became a member of the Abhinav Bharat Society in 1907. In 1909 he made experiments in bomb-making along with A. L. Kanhere, the Nasik murderer, and others. On his arrest in December, 1909, he was found to be in possession of a signed copy of the Savarkar oath of the Abhinav Bharat and a formula for making bombs. He was convicted in December, 1910, in the Nasik Conspiracy case and sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment.

TILAK, BALWANT GANGADHAR, B.A., LL.B. Born about 1856, son of Gangadhar Tilak, Chitpawan Brahmin, of Ratnagiri. B. G. Tilak

is the most important extremist agitator in India. An account of his career will be found at page 14, and other references at the places indicated in the index.

TIRUMALA CHARI, MANDAYAM PARTHASARTHI, *alias* TIRUMAL ACHARYA. Born about 1887, son of M.P. Narasimha Aiyar of Madras. From August to November, 1907, he was registered printer and publisher of the seditious Tamil paper *India* of Madras. When the press was removed to Pondicherry in July, 1908, on the arrest of the editor, Tirumala Chari signed papers as proprietor until he left for England in November, 1908. In London he was resident member of the India House, and constantly in the company of V. D. Savarkar and V. V. S. Aiyar. In October, 1909, he went to Paris where also he associated with leading revolutionaries. In November, 1910, he went to Berlin, and in April, 1911, he was in Munich and from there went on to Constantinople in October. In the following year he crossed over to America and during these wanderings he kept in touch with the Indian revolutionaries in Europe.

In New York he lived at the same address as Chandra Kanta Chakravarti and after two years there he went on to Berkeley, California, where he associated with the *Ghadr* party. His address was noted in the pocket-book of Surendra Mohan Bose. In 1915 he made his way to Berlin and joined the Indian National Party there.

TONPE, KASHINATH DAJI. Born about 1878, son of Daji Tonpe, Deshasth Brahmin, of Nasik District. He was a member of the Nasik conspiracy, and was sentenced in December, 1910, to 3 years' imprisonment in that case.

VAIDYA, GANESH BALWANT. Born about 1891, son of Balwant Vaidya, of Poona and Nasik. In the Nasik murder case [443] he was sentenced in March, 1910, to transportation for life, but he turned approver and the sentence was commuted by Government to 3 years.

VARMA, HOTI LAL. Born about 1877, a Jat by cast, son of a cultivator, of the Muttra District. He was educated at Agra Collegiate School and passed the Middle School Examination, but failed in the Entrance Examination of the University. After this he is said to have been converted to Christianity by a Mr. Maclean, a missionary, who sent him to St. Stephen's College, Delhi, to complete his education. He was there only for a few months, and then went to Calcutta where he was employed in the office of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

His importance is that he links up many apparently isolated phases of revolutionary activity in India and abroad, and that the places and persons visited by him in his extended tour were all recovered by him in his diary.

In 1905-06 he wandered about India getting employment on various newspapers, the places visited being Agra, Ajmer, Bombay, Lahore, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, etc., ending up in December, 1906, again at the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* office in Calcutta.

He left Calcutta (December, 1906), for Hong Kong (arrived December 23rd; left 30th April, 1907), Shanghai (arrived 3rd May), Kobe (arrived 4th June), and Tientsin (arrived 26th June) and travelled in

China till July 22nd, visiting the British Indian troops in China and attempting to create disaffection among them as he had done in Hong-Kong. On the 12th of July he was turned out of the lines of the 41st Dogras.

He returned to India *viâ* Tuticorin (September 15th, 1907) and went to Pondicherry (16th). Here he stayed till October 3rd making friends and trying to arrange for the importation of arms into India by this route. He then went to Bombay and was there from 6th to 14th November. He has recorded in his diary meetings during this time with 'Mr. Tilak' and 'Mr. Khaparde', as well as with a Mr. R. K. Prabhu, who is believed to have been the Bombay agent of the Maniktolla Garden conspirators.

On November 15th, 1907, he left for Europe, and arrived at Marseilles on December 5th. He sent a wire announcing his arrival to Shyamaji Krishnavarma in Paris, and left the same night for Paris, where he arrived next day. He stayed in Paris till December 22nd, and was seen off on the 23rd for London by "Acharya" (evidently the seditious young Madras M. P. Tirumala Chari) and Bapat (evidently P. M. Bapat of Ahmednagar, the Maratha bomb expert, for whom a warrant was issued in the Maniktolla case).

Hoti Lal stayed only three days in London, and left again for India on December 27th *viâ* Marseilles (29th). He sailed on January 1st, 1908, for Alexandria where he landed on the 6th and went to Cairo. There he interviewed Dr. Rutherford at the National Hotel and talked about 'Congress affairs'. From Cairo he went to Suez, and being hard up for money sent the following [444] telegram, of which the original has been recovered :—"To Tilak, Poona. Fifteen sterling required telegraphically. Varma." It is not known whether the money was sent or not, but he arrived in Karachi on January 31st, and visiting one or two other places left Jodhpur on February 14th, for Poona, where he stayed with B. G. Tilak till the 25th. Here he met amongst others S. S. Chakravarti, Manager of Arabindo Ghose's paper the *Bande Mataram* of Calcutta, and P. M. Bapat whom he had recently seen in Paris. He then went to Bombay (26th) where he met G. N. Potdar (B. A., Tokio), a Japan-returned suspect, and proceeded to Amraoti where he stayed with G. S. Khaparde from February 28th till March 2nd. He then proceeded to Ahmednagar to look up P. M. Bapat, but failed to find him and went on to Madras where he stayed till March 10th. On this date he posted from Triplicane the seditious leaflet "A message to the Punjabis" to Subedar-Major Ahmed Din at Hong-Kong; evidence of this was afterwards given at Hoti Lal's trial.

From 11th March to 9th April, 1908, he was at Pondicherry again making arrangements for the importation of arms. He then went on to Calcutta (April 12th). Here he associated with members of the Maniktolla gang, and from some notes in his diary and from other evidence, it appears that he visited the lines of the 10th Jats (he is a Jat himself) at Alipore, ostensibly to collect subscriptions. He then went on to Ranchi, Allahabad and Aligarh (arrived 21st April).

On 11th May, 1908, he sent a telegram to the *Bande Mataram* of Calcutta, which was published in the issue of May 13th, as "from our

special correspondent", in which he expressed sympathy with the Manik-tolla revolutionaries under trial, and with the assassins of Muzaffapore.

Meanwhile the leaflet "A message to the Punjabis" appeared in Aligarh, and evidence of the delivery of seditious speeches by Hoti Lal was also collected. He left Aligarh on May 19th for Agra, and was arrested in the Jat boarding house there on May 25th. He was convicted on 28th July, 1908, and sentenced to 7 years' transportation. He was subsequently tried in a supplementary case under section 124-A, I.P.C., for disseminating the seditious leaflet mentioned above, and for preaching sedition on various occasions, and sentenced on 1st October, 1908, to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment on each of three charges, the sentences to run concurrently. On appeal to the High Court the sentence of seven years' transportation was reduced to 5 years' transportation, and the sentences to run concurrently.

ZAFAR ALI KHAN, B.A. Born about 1873, son of Siraj-ud-din Ahmad, of Gujranwala and Lahore. In 1909 he came to Lahore and published the *Zemindar* (Landlord) newspaper, which attracted attention on account of its very strong pro-Turkish tone during the Balkan wars. He was also very anti-Christian, [445] both in his paper and on the platform. He went to England at the end of 1912, and thence to Turkey in connection with a Turkish relief fund which he had raised, and of which he was charged with appropriating more than his fair share. He returned to India in July, 1913, and the tone of his paper became so bad that the security of Rs. 2,000 previously deposited under the Press Act was forfeited in September, 1913, and a further security of Rs. 10,000 demanded. He was a close associate of Mohamed Ali of the *Comrade*, and in September, 1913, left for England to join Mohamed Ali's deputation to represent the case of Indian Mahomedans to the British public. His paper was continued on the same extreme lines, and in January, 1914, the press and the security of Rs. 10,000 were forfeited.

ZIA-UL-HAQ. Born about 1862, son of Ali Husain, of Meerut and Lahore. He had already a bad record for dishonesty and attempts to blackmail Indian princes when he was secured by the Hindu extremists of Lahore, in 1909, to help in the production and dissemination of seditious literature. When the prosecution were at the end of 1909, he absconded with Ajit Singh and Amba Parshad to Persia, but he was eventually arrested and sentenced in Lahore to 5 years' transportation for sedition.

[446] CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

[1907]

15th February.	Lahore (Punjab)	On the conviction of the proprietor and the editor of the <i>Punjabee</i> under Section 153A, Indian Penal Code, there was an anti-European demonstration by students and others in the town.
5th March.	Comilla (Eastern Bengal).	Mr. Curesetji, private Secretary to the Nawab of Dacca was severely beaten in the bazar.
6th March.	Comilla (Eastern Bengal).	Further disturbances took place during which a Mahomedan was shot dead.
April 12th to May 9th.	Madras Presidency.	Bepin Chandra Pal went on a lecturing tour. He held several meetings in support of swadeshi, swaraj and boycott in the following places : Vizagapatnam, Vizianagram, Cocanada, Rajamundry, Masulipatam and Madras.
April 16th.	Lahore (Punjab).	The Chief Court upheld the conviction in the <i>Punjabee</i> case (<i>vide</i> 15th February, 1907). As the prisoners were being conveyed to jail a riotous crowd stopped the carriage, pelted the police in-charge, with mud, and garlanded the convicts. The mob afterwards passed in procession along the Mall, assaulting isolated Europeans <i>en route</i> , till dispersed by the police.
April 21st.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	There was an affray between volunteers and the police at Nangalband fair [447]
April 21st.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	There was a disturbance at a <i>mela</i> (fair) at Jamalpur. The clay image of the Goddess <i>Durga</i> was broken.
April 24th.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	There was a second disturbance at Jamalpur. Shots were fired from a Hindu temple, and a Mahomedan was wounded.

April 24th.	Rajamundry (Madras).	A strike of students took place at the Government College.
April 27th.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	There was a third affray at Jamalpur. A Mahomedan was wounded by a revolver shot.
May 2nd.	Rawalpindi (Punjab).	A mob consisting largely of students and Khattris wrecked the gardens and damaged the house and furniture of the Deputy Commissioner, District Judge, District Superintendent of Police, Assistant Adjutant General and some missionaries. They also assaulted some Europeans on the way.
May 9th.	Lahore (Punjab).	Lala Lajpatrai was arrested and deported, under Regulation III of 1818, on a warrant issued on May 7th.
May 11th.	Simla (Punjab).	The Regulation of Meetings Ordinance (I of 1907) was passed. It extended to the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and Assam.
May 21st.	Gujranwala (Punjab).	Pindi Das, editor of the <i>India</i> , was arrested and his press searched.
May 25th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	A seditious speech was delivered by Bepin Chandra Pal in which he advised the "sacrifice of 101 living white goats" to the Goddess <i>Kali</i> [448].
May 31st	Cocanada (Madras)	Captain Kemp, District Medical Officer, struck a youth for shouting <i>Bande Mataram</i> at him and insulting him. The same evening the European Club, where Captain Kemp was dining, was attacked and wrecked by a mob.
June 2nd.	Amritsar (Punjab).	Ajit Singh, who had absconded was arrested and deported under Regulation III of 1818 on a warrant issued on May 7th.
June 12th.	Bakerganj (Eastern Bengal).	Liakat Husain and Abdul Ghafur were arrested under Section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, for publishing a seditious pamphlet.
June 17th.	Lahore (Punjab).	Dina Nath, editor of the <i>Hindustan</i> , was arrested in connection with the case against Pindi Das, editor of the <i>India</i> of Gujranwala (<i>vide</i> May 21st, 1907).

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| July 24th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | Bhupendra Nath Dutt, editor of the <i>Yugantar</i> , was convicted under Section 124A, Indian Penal Code, and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment. The press was ordered to be confiscated. |
| July 30th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | The <i>Yugantar</i> reappeared. |
| July 30th. | Lahore (Punjab). | The editor of the <i>India</i> was sentenced to 5 years' rigorous imprisonment under Section 124A and 131, Indian Penal Code; the same sentence was passed on the editor of the <i>Hindustan</i> for abetment of the offences [449]. |
| August 7th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | A conflict took place between the police and a crowd in front of the office of the <i>Yugantar</i> which was being searched |
| August 17th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | Arabindo Ghose, editor of the <i>Bande Mataram</i> , was arrested for sedition. |
| August 21st. | Tippera (Eastern Bengal). | Captain Anderson, Civil Surgeon, was assaulted by five young men at Chandpur. |
| August 26th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | Disorderly scenes took place in the police court during the hearing of the <i>Bande Mataram</i> case (<i>vide</i> August, 17th) and afterwards in the streets near the court. |
| August 27th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | A student of the National College, named Soshil Kumar Sen, was sentenced by Mr. Kingsford, Chief Presidency Magistrate, to a whipping of 15th stripes for assaulting the police on August, 26th. |
| August 28th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | Soshil Kumar Sen was garlanded at a meeting in College Square (<i>vide</i> August 27th). |
| September 10th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | Bepin Chandra Pal was sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment under Sections 178 and 179, Indian Penal Code, for refusing to give evidence in the <i>Bande Mataram</i> case (<i>vide</i> August, 26th). When judgment was delivered there were shouts of <i>Bande Mataram</i> in court and a scuffle between students and police. |

September 22nd.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	A mob attacked the additional police in their quarters at Sherpur. The police fired, killing two and wounding eight persons [450].
September 22nd.	Bengal.	Messrs. Coates and Smart were assaulted with a <i>kukri</i> by a pleader named Durga Charan Sanyal, while travelling in the Darjeeling Mail to Calcutta.
September 23rd	Calcutta (Bengal).	In the <i>Bande Mataram</i> case (<i>vide</i> August, 26th) Arabindo Ghose was acquitted.
September 25th to October 2nd.	(Eastern Bengal).	Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., went on a lecturing tour in Eastern Bengal. He held meetings at Serajganj September 25th, Mymensingh 27th, Dacca 28th, Barisal 29th and 30th, Khulna October 1st, and returned to Calcutta on October 2nd.
October 1st	Rawalpindi (Punjab).	Six lawyers who were accused in the riot case (<i>vide</i> May 2nd, 1907) were discharged.
October 2nd.	Calcutta (Bengal).	The police were stoned in Beadon Square and Chitpore Road.
October 3rd.	Calcutta (Bengal).	There was further stone-throwing in Chitpore Road at the police and at tram cars. Forty arrests were made.
October 4th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	A police sergeant attempting to arrest some rioters of the previous day had his hand almost severed by a blow from a <i>kukri</i> .
November 1st.	Calcutta (Bengal).	The Seditious Meetings Act (VI of 1907) was passed.
November 18th.	Lahore (Punjab).	Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh were released (<i>vide</i> May 9th and June 2nd, 1907). [451]
December 6th.	Midnapore (Bengal).	An attempt was made to wreck by a bomb laid under the line the train of Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, near Kharagpur.
December 6th.	24 Parganas (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at the station master's office at Chingripota; over Rs. 600 were robbed from the safe.
December 15th	Calcutta (Bengal).	Stones were thrown at the police at a meeting of extremists in Beadon Square.

- December 17th. Calcutta (Bengal). In consequence of the disturbance on December 15th the Chief Presidency Magistrate issued an order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting the holding of meetings in 5 public squares in the northern quarter of the city.
- December 23rd. Faridpur (Eastern Bengal). Mr. B. C. Allen, District Magistrate of Dacca, was seriously wounded by a revolver shot at Goalundo station.

[1908]

- January 13th. Dacca (Eastern Bengal). Pulin Behari Das, a teacher of the National School, was sentenced to 3 weeks' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 15 under Section 150, Indian Penal Code.
- January 17th. Dinajpur (Eastern Bengal). Two Europeans named Lazarus were assaulted at Dinajpur station.
- February 26th and 27th. Tinnevelly (Madras). There were strikes of mill operatives at Tuticorin at the instigation of Chidambaram Pillai and Subramania Siva. [452]
- March 4th. Nadia (Bengal). Mr. Hickenbotham, a missionary of Kushtia, was shot through the chest with a revolver.
- March 10th. Calcutta (Bengal). There was a great demonstration at Howrah station on the arrival of B. C. Pal after his release from jail (*vide* September 10th, 1907).
- March 13th. Tinnevelly (Madras). Serious riots took place at Tuticorin and Tinnevelly.
- April 3rd. Howrah (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Sibpur in Howrah town. The property stolen was valued at Rs. 400.
- April 5th. Poona (Bombay). A disturbance was caused by volunteers of the Temperance Association picketing the liquor shops. Troops were called out, and the crowd dispersed quietly on hearing of their approach.
- April 11th. Chandernagore (Bengal). An attempt was made to blow up M. Tardival, the Maire, with a bomb.

April 30th.	Muzaffarpore (Bengal).	Mrs. and Miss Kennedy were killed by a bomb intended for Mr. Kingsford (<i>vide</i> August 27th, 1907).
May 1st.	Muzaffarpore (Bengal).	Khudiram Bose, the young Bengali who threw the bomb at Muzaffarpore, was arrested (<i>vide</i> April 30th, 1908).
May 2nd.	Patna (Bengal).	Dinesh Chandra Roy, <i>alias</i> Profulla Chaki, the companion of Khudiram Bose at Muzaffarpore, shot himself dead with a revolver at Mokameh as he was being arrested (<i>vide</i> May 1st 1908). [453]
May 2nd.	Calcutta (Bengal).	The Headquarters of a bomb conspiracy and a store of arms, bombs and explosives were discovered in a garden in Maniktolla. Fourteen of the members including Barindra Kumar Ghose were also found in the garden and arrested.
May 15th.	Calcutta (Bengal)	A bomb exploded on a tram line in Grey Street. Three persons were injured.
May 17th.	Calcutta (Bengal)	A bomb was found on the steps of St. Andrew's Church, Lower Circular Road.
May 30th.	Bombay (Bombay).	On the adjournment of the trial of the editor of the <i>Hind Swarajya</i> for sedition a disorderly demonstration took place in the precincts of the court; 8 arrests were made.
June 2nd.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Barraah in which a Hindu money-lender was robbed of Rs. 26,000. Two villagers and a <i>chaukidar</i> (watchman) were killed.
June 8th.	Simla (Punjab).	The Explosive Substances Act (VI of 1908) was passed.
June 8th.	Simla (Punjab).	The Indian Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act (VII of 1908) was passed.
June 11th	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	An attempt was made to murder Abdul Ghafur, Inspector of Police, Manikganj.

June 13th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Khudiram Bose was sentenced to death for the murder of Mrs. and Miss Kennedy (<i>vide</i> April 30th, 1908). [454]
June 18th.	Bombay (Bombay).	Ganesh Damodar Savarkar of Nasik was sentenced to one month's rigorous imprisonment for inciting the crowd not to disperse after the hearing of a case against S. M. Parnjipe, editor of the <i>Kal</i> .
June 24th.	Bombay (Bombay).	B. G. Tilak, editor of the <i>Kesari</i> , was prosecuted under Section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, in respect of articles in the issues dated 12th May and 9th June, 1908.
June 29th.	Bombay (Bombay).	Disturbances took place outside the court where Tilak was being tried. Seven arrests were made. One police officer, 3 soldiers and 3 Europeans were injured by stones thrown by the crowd.
July 4th.	Nadia (Bengal).	A bomb was sent in a parcel to the District Magistrate.
July 9th.	Madras (Madras).	Chidambaram Pillai was sentenced to transportation for life, and Subramania Siva to transportation for ten years in connection with the Tinnevely riots (The sentences were afterwards reduced by the High Court to six years in each case). <i>vide</i> February 26th and March 13th, 1908).
July 9th.	Midnapore (Bengal).	A bomb was found in the house of Santosh Das, a discharged probationary Sub-Inspector of Police.
July 17th.	Bombay (Bombay).	There was a riot of mill hands in the city.
July 20th.	Bombay (Bombay).	Further riots took place in the city. [455]
July 22nd.	Bombay (Bombay).	B. G. Tilak was sentenced to 6 years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000. (This was commuted on 17th September to simple imprisonment and the fine was remitted by the Government of Bombay). (<i>vide</i> June 24th, 1908).

July 24th.	Bombay (Bombay).	There were riots in Bombay. The military were called out and six rioters killed.
July 25th.	Bombay (Bombay).	A mill was attacked by rioters who were dispersed by cavalry.
July 27th.	Bombay (Bombay).	There was a riot in Shaikh Memon Street. Troops were stoned by the crowd, and three rioters were killed.
July 28th.	Bombay (Bombay).	There was a riot, with stone throwing, in Girgaon Road.
July 29th.	Sholapur (Bombay).	The mission house at Pandharpur was attacked by a mob, Miss Steele, a missionary lady, was beaten and severely wounded.
July 31st.	Midnapore (Bengal).	A bomb was found in the house of Barada Prasad Dutt.
August 7th.	Rajshahi (Eastern Bengal).	The driver of the Rajshahi mail was murdered by two passengers believed to be Bengalis.
August 12th.	Chandernagore (Bengal).	Two bombs were found near the railway line.
August 15th.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Bajitpur. Cash and jewellery were stolen. [456]
August 31st.	Calcutta (Bengal)	Norendra Nath Gossain, the approver in the Maniktolla conspiracy case, was shot dead in Alipore jail by Kanailal Dutt and Satyendra Nath Bose, two of the accused.
September 17th.	Hooghly (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at the house of Kisori Mohan Ray, at Bighati, by six Bengalis who pretended to be police officers searching for arms and bombs.
October 20th	Malda (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at the house of Dwarka Nath Tewari, near English Bazar.
October 30th.	Faridpur (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Naria Bazar. Property valued at Rs. 1,200 was stolen.
November 7th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	An attempt was made by Jitendra Nath Roy Chaudhuri to assassinate Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor, by shooting him with a revolver.

November 9th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Sub-Inspector Nando Lal Bansrji, who was concerned in the capture of Profulla Chaki was shot dead in the street (<i>vide</i> May 2nd, 1908).
November 13th.	Nagpur (Central Provinces).	The statue of Queen Victoria was disfigured and mutilated. The face was covered with tar and the nose and fingers broken.
November 13th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	The decapitated body of a youth named Sukumar Chakravarti, one of the members of the Anusilan Samiti who had made a statement to the police, was found about a mile outside the town. [457]
November 29th.	Nadia (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Raita. Property stolen Rs. 2,000.
December 2nd.	Hooghly (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Morehal. One of the dacoits was wounded and caught by the villagers.
December 11th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act (XIV of 1908) was passed. It is an Act for the more speedy trial, by a special Bench, of certain offences, and for the prohibition of associations dangerous to the public peace.
December 13th.	Bengal and Eastern Bengal.	The following leading agitators were arrested and deported under Regulation III of 1818 :— <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Subodh Chandra Mullick of Calcutta. 2. Monoranjan Guha of Bakarganj. 3. Kṛsto Kumar Mitra of Mymensingh, resident in Calcutta. 4. Sachindra Prasad Bose of Jessore, resident in Calcutta.. 5. Shyam Sundar Chakravarti of Pabna, resident in Calcutta. 6. Aswini Kumar Dutt of Barisal. 7. Satish Chandra Chatterji of Barisal. 8. Pulin Behari Das of Dacca. 9. Bhupesh Chandra Nag of Dacca.

[1909] [458]

January 5th.	Eastern Bengal.	Under Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act the following associations were declared to be unlawful :—
		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anusilan Samiti, Dacca. 2. Swadesh Bandhab Samiti, Barisal. 3. Brati Samiti, Faridpur. 4. Surhid Samiti, Mymensingh. 5. Sadhana Samaj, Mymensingh.
January 15th.	Poona (Bombay)	A cocoanut bomb was found in Connaught Road by a Mahomedan; it exploded blowing off one of his hands.
January 15th.	Bilaspur (Central Provinces).	The coronation tree was sawn through.
January 28th.	Benares (United Provinces).	The statue of Queen Victoria was tarred.
February 10th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Ashutosh Biswas, public prosecutor, was shot dead in the compound of the Alipore Police Court by Charu Chandra Bose. He was conducting the prosecution of the Maniktolla conspiracy case.
February 27th.	Hooghly (Bengal).	An earthen vessel containing a bomb and an anonymous letter addressed to Babu Khirode Krishna Biswas, Vice-Chairman of the Hooghly District Board, was found on a table in the verandah of the District Board Office, Chinsurah.
February 27th.	Hooghly (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Mushupur. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 500. [459]
March 4th.	Hooghly (Bengal).	A tin containing a bomb was found in the bar library at Chinsurah, also addressed to Babu Khirode Biswas (<i>vide</i> February 27th, 1909).
March 12th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	A tin box filled with gunpowder and bullets, and having a pistol cartridge fitted in the bottom, was found in the office of the <i>Englishman</i> newspaper.

March 19th.	Calcutta (Bengal)	Charu Chandra Bose, the murderer of Ashutosh Biswas, was executed. (<i>vide</i> February 10th, 1909).
March 26th.	Guntur (Madras)	A villager was killed near Tenali by explosion of a bomb buried in a village footpath.
April 4th.	Jessore (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Gadgachi. Property stolen <i>nil</i> .
April 5th.	24-Parganas (Bengal).	Between Agarpara and Sodepur stations a bomb was thrown from one train to another as they passed; the bomb struck a 3rd class carriage injuring five native passengers.
April 16th.	24-Parganas (Bengal).	A bomb was found on the railway line between Agarpara and Sodepur stations.
April 24th.	24-Parganas (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Netra. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 2,000.
May 6th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Arabindo Ghose and 16 others were acquitted in the Maniktolla bomb case. Barindra Kumar Ghose and 18 others were convicted. [460]
June 3rd.	Faridpur (Eastern Bengal).	Preo Nath Chatterji, the brother of an informer, was shot dead.
June 9th.	Nasik (Bombay).	Ganesh Damodar Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life and the forfeiture of his property under Sections 121 and 124-A, Indian Penal Code.
July 1st.	London (England).	Colonel Sir William Curzon-Wyllie was shot dead by Madan Lal Dhingra at the Imperial Institute at 11 p.m. A Parsee doctor named Cowasjee Lalkaka who intervened was shot at the same time and died soon after.
July 27th.	Nadia (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Maharajpur. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 450.

August 17th.	Khulna (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Nangla. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 1,000.
October 11th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	A political robbery was committed in a running train near Rajendrapur on three men who were in charge of a remittance of Rs. 23,000. Two of them were shot and stabbed in the carriage, and one escaped through the window. The greater part of the money robbed was afterwards recovered.
October 12th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	The Calcutta Anusilan Samiti was declared an unlawful association under Section 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908.
October 15th.	Faridpur (Eastern Bengal).	A Political dacoity was committed at Dariapur. [461]
October 27th.	Nadia (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Haludbari. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 1,800. Next morning six young men were arrested at Mirpur.
November 10th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Rajnagar. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 28,000.
November 13th.	Ahmedabad (Bombay).	Two bombs which did not explode were thrown at the Viceroy's carriage.
November 15th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	The postmaster of an isolated village near Malkhanagar, and his peon were both murdered.
November 18th.	Bombay (Bombay).	The sentences passed on G. D. Savarkar were confirmed by the High Court (<i>vide</i> June 8th, 1909).
November 23rd.	Calcutta (Bengal).	On appeal the convictions of Barindra Kumar Ghose and 11 others were confirmed by the High Court; the judges disagreed about 5 of the accused, one was acquitted and one died during the hearing (<i>vide</i> May 6th, 1909).
December 11th.	Tippera (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Mohanpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 16,000.

- December 21st. Nasik (Bombay). Mr. Jackson, the District Magistrate, was shot dead by Anant Lakshman Kanhere.
- December 26th. Jessore (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Buikara. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 800. [462]

[1910]

- January 6th. Calcutta (Bengal). A railway train was fired on between Sealdah and Dum Dum stations. The bullet passed through a 2nd class compartment in which two Europeans were travelling.
- January 13th. Calcutta (Bengal). The Seditious Meetings Act (VI of 1907) was extended to Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Punjab and Central Provinces.
- January 13th. Calcutta (Bengal). The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act (XIV of 1908) was extended to Madras, United Provinces, Punjab and Central Provinces.
- January 24th. Calcutta (Bengal). Khan Bahadur Shamsul Alam, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Bengal Criminal Investigation Department, was shot dead in the High Court, Calcutta, by Birendra Nath Dutt Gupta.
- January 28th. Bombay (Bombay). Chanjeri Rao was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for importing, without a license, a Browning pistol and 30 cart-
- February 7th. Khulna (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Soleganti. Rupees 200 in notes were stolen.
- February 9th. Calcutta (Bengal). The Indian Press Act, 1910, was passed.
- February 9th. Calcutta (Bengal). The nine leading agitators deported in December, 1908, were released (*vide* December 13th, 1908).
- February 11th. Jessore (Bengal). A Political dacoity was committed at Dhulgram. Cash and ornaments valued at over Rs. 6,000 were taken away. [463]

February 18th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Of the 5 accused in the Manik-tolla bomb case regarding whom the judges disagreed (<i>vide</i> November 23rd, 1909) 3 were acquitted, and the convictions of the other 2 confirmed but the sentences reduced.
February 21st.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Birendra Nath Dutt Gupta, the murderer of Deputy Superintendent Shamsul Alam, was executed (<i>vide</i> January 24th, 1909).
March 4th.	Bakarganj (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Mohanganj. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 1,500.
March 13th.	London (England).	V. D. Savarkar was arrested at Victoria station.
March 30th.	Khulna (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Nandanpur. Ornaments to the value of Rs. 7,000 and Rs. 250 in cash were stolen.
July 5th.	Jessore (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Mahisa. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 900.
July 8th.	Marseilles (France).	V. D. Savarkar attempted to escape from custody by jumping out of a port-hole on the S. S. "Morea".
August 13th.	Bakarganj (Eastern Bengal).	A dangerous bomb was found in the house of Jogendra Nath Chakrabarti of Rahmatpur with a letter threatening him with assassination if he persisted in his anti-swadeshi attitude.
September 1st.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	Inspector Sarat Chandra Ghose of the Criminal Investigation Department was shot by two young Bengalis, but not killed. [464]
September 5th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	Eleven bombs were found in a house in Munshiganj in which Lalit Chandra Chaudhuri of Tippera was living.
September 30th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Haldiahat. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 1,500. Five persons were wounded and a boatman killed.

- November 7th. Faridpur
(Eastern Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Kalargaon. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 13,000.
- November 30th. Bakarganj
(Eastern Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Dadpur. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 50,000.

[1911]

- January 20th. Dacca
(Eastern Bengal). A postal peon was beaten by some boys and masters of the Sonarang National School, and his bag containing letters, money orders and Rs. 55 in cash taken from him.
- February 5th. Faridpur
(Eastern Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Panditchar. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 6,000.
- February 20th. Dacca
(Eastern Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Goadia. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 7,500.
- February 21st. Calcutta (Bengal). Head constable Sirish Chandra Chakravarti was shot dead in Sikdar Bagan Lane. [465]
- March 2nd. Calcutta (Bengal). A bomb was thrown into a motor car entering Dalhousie Square from Writers' Buildings and failed to explode. It was intended for Mr. Denham of the Criminal Investigation Department but was thrown into the wrong car.
- March 31st. Mymensingh
(Eastern Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Suakair. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 1,200.
- April 10th. Dacca
(Eastern Bengal). Mon Mohan Day, an important witness in two political cases, was shot dead in his house at Routbhog.
- April 22nd. Bakarganj
(Eastern Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Lakhankati. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 10,000.
- April 30th. Mymensingh
(Eastern Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Chorsara. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 2,000.

May 18th.	Satara (Bombay).	Two cocoanut bombs, 37 revolver cartridges and six Mannlicher cartridges were found in the verandah of the house of Ganga-dhar Kulkarni of village Kanheri.
June 17th.	Tinnevelly (Madras).	Mr. Ashe, Collector and District Magistrate of the district, was shot dead at Maniyachi junction.
June 18th.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	Sub-Inspector Rajkumar Roy of the Criminal Investigation Department was shot dead in the public road near his house in Mymensingh town. [466]
July 11th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	The Duffadar of Sonarang and his brother were murdered, and a police informer was seriously injured and died two days later.
July 25th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	Four guns, nine rifles and some ammunition were found concealed in the roof of the High School at Routbhog.
July 27th.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Sarachar.
August 26th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	Three revolvers, 36 cartridges and ten masks such as were used in dacoities were found near Danga Steamer Ghat.
September 5th.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Singair. The dacoits robbed the post office of Rs. 367, a jute office of about Rs. 8,000. The telegraph instrument in the post office was rendered useless.
October 2nd.	Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Kuliarchar. The property taken from the post office and three other places was valued at about Rs. 3,000. The telegraph instrument in the post office was rendered useless.
November 6th.	Rangpur (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Baliagram. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 1,200.
December 11th.	Bakarganj (Eastern Bengal).	Inspector Mon Mohan Ghose of the Criminal Investigation Department was shot dead in the streets of Barisal.

December 31st.	Noakhali (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Chaupalli. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 1,200. [467]
[1912]		
January 23rd.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Baiguntewari. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 5,000.
February 21st.	Dacca (Eastern Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Ainpur. Over Rs 5000 in cash and Rs. 2,500 in ornaments were stolen.
April 13th.	Bakarganj (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Kakuria. Property was stolen to the value of Rs. 3,000.
April 17th.	Bakarganj (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Kushangal. A Government gun was stolen.
May 27th.	Bakarganj (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Birangal. Cash and jewellery were stolen to the value of Rs. 8,000.
June 25th.	Dacca (Bengal).	An attempt was made to commit a political dacoity at Subadaya. The villagers captured two dacoits, one of whom was a student with two revolvers and 37 cartridges in his possession.
July 10th.	Dacca (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Panam. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 20,000. The telegraph wire was cut.
July 16th.	Bakarganj (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Partabpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 8,000.
August 6th.	Chittagong (Bengal).	The <i>mohunt</i> of Sitakund was shot dead with a Mauser pistol by one of two Hindu <i>shadralog</i> . [468]
September 24th.	Dacca (Bengal).	Head constable Rati Lal Roy was shot dead in a public lane in Dacca.
November 1st.	Tippera (Bengal).	An armed gang of 12 persons including some political suspects, was arrested in Comilla town.

November 14th.	Dacca (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Nangalband. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 12,000.
November 18th.	Dacca (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Kola post office. Rs. 1,000 in cash were stolen.
December 13th.	Midnapore (Bengal).	A bomb exploded at the house of Abdur Rahman, who had been previously an informer in the Midnapore case.
December 23rd.	Delhi (Delhi).	A bomb was thrown at Lord Hardinge during the State Entry into Delhi. The Indian attendant sitting behind him was killed and His Excellency himself severely wounded.

[1913]

January 13th.	Tippera (Bengal).	Debendra Kumar Ghose who had been assisting the police was shot dead in the streets of Comilla.
February 3rd.	Dacca (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Barakair on the house of a retired Inspector of Police. The stolen property was valued at Rs. 3,300.
February 4th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Dhuldia. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 9,000. [469]
March 27th.	Sylhet (Bengal).	A Bengali was killed by a bomb he was carrying near the gate of the bungalow of Mr. Gordon, I.C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Maulvi Bazar.
April 3rd.	Faridpur (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Gopalpur. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 7,000.
May 17th.	Lahore (Punjab).	A bomb exploded on the road near Lawrence Hall, Lahore, killing a chaprassi named Ram Padarath.
May 29th.	Faridpur (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Kawakuri. The property stolen was valued at about Rs. 5,000.

August 3rd.	Cawnpore (United Provinces).	A Mahomedan mob attempted to restore the platform adjoining a mosque which was removed on July 1st, 1913. The police were stoned and had to fire on the rioters of whom 23 were killed or died of wounds.
August 16th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Kedarpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 18,000.
September 1st.	Hooghly (Bengal).	Seven revolvers, two swords and other weapons were discovered in the house of Narendra Nath Banerji of Sibpur.
September 29th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Head Constable Haripada Deb of the Calcutta police was shot dead in College Square.
September 30th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	Inspector Bankim Chandra Chaudhuri was murdered with a bomb at his house. [470]
November 16th.	Dacca (Bengal).	Basanta Kumar Bhattacharji, a police informer, was shot dead.
November 21st.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Four Bengali <i>bhadralog</i> were arrested in a room in Raja Bazar, Beliaghata, in which were found cases for bombs similar to those used in several bomb outrages.
November 25th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Sarachar near Bajitpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 4,000.
December 9th.	Midnapore (Bengal).	A bomb which did not explode was thrown at Abdur Rahman, formerly a police informer (<i>vide</i> December 13th, 1912).
December 17th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	One rifle and 27 revolvers were found to have been stolen from a consignment addressed to Messrs. Manton and Co., Calcutta.
December 19th.	Comilla (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Paschimsingh. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 3,000.
December 30th.	Hooghly (Bengal).	A dangerous bomb was thrown into Bhadreswar police station but failed to explode.

[1914]

January 19th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Inspector Nripendra Nath Ghose ^u of the Calcutta police was shot dead in Sova Bazar by two Bengalis. [471]
March 26th.	San Francisco (U.S.A.)	Har Dayal was arrested and released on bail. He absconded to Switzerland before the close of the deportation proceedings taken against him by the Immigration Authorities of the United States.
May 9th.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Gossainpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 5,500.
June 17th.	Poona (Bombay).	Bal Gangadhar Tilak was released from custody (<i>vide</i> July 22nd, 1908).
June 19th.	Chittagong (Bengal).	Satyendra Nath Sen was shot dead by mistake for Nagendra Nath Ray who had been a witness in the Dacca Conspiracy Case and was with him at the time.
July 10th.	Dacca (Bengal).	Umesh Chandra Das, <i>alias</i> Ram Das, who had given information to the police was shot dead on Buckland Bund. A constable who tried to arrest the assassin was also shot at and wounded in the head.
August 26th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Fifty Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of ammunition, being part of a consignment to Messrs. Rodda and Co. of Calcutta, were stolen on the way from the Customs to Messrs. Rodda's store-house.
August 28th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Betalee. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 17,000. [472]
August 31st.	Vancouver (British Columbia).	A Sikh named Harnam Singh of Patiala, who had been assisting the Immigration Department, was found in the bush with his throat cut.

September 3rd.	Vancouver (British Columbia).	Arjan Singh, a friend of Harnam Singh of Patiala (<i>vide</i> August 31st) was shot by Ram Singh, a member of the Sikh Temple Committee.
September 5th.	Vancouver (British Columbia).	Bela Singh, interpreter to the Immigration Department went to the Sikh Temple and shot the priest Bhag Singh dead and wounded seven other Sikhs.
October 21st.	Vancouver (British Columbia).	Inspector Hopkinson of the Canadian Immigration Department was shot dead by a Sikh named Mewa Singh.
November 7th.	24-Parganas (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Mamurabad. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 5000.
November 19th.	Faridpur (Bengal).	A bomb was thrown into the house of Binod Lal Ghose, a pleader and secretary of the Madaripur High English School, who had helped the police in the Madaripur Conspiracy Case.
November 25th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	An attempt was made to assassinate Deputy Superintendent Basanta Kumar Chatterji at his house in Musalmanpara Lane with a bomb. A head constable was killed and two police orderlies seriously wounded. [473]
December 18th.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Radhanagar. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 3,000.
December 23rd.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Darakpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 23,000.

[1915]

January 18th.	Faridpur (Bengal).	A political dacoity was attempted at Kalamridha, but was a failure.
January 22nd.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Bagmara. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 11,000.

January 22nd.	Rangpur (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Kurul. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 50,000.
February 2nd.	Amritsar (Punjab).	A dacoity with murder was committed by returned Sikh emigrants in the house of a Brahmin money-lender.
February 3rd.	Ludhiana (Punjab).	A dacoity was committed by returned Sikh emigrants.
February 12th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	A gang of armed Bengalis held up a hired conveyance in which Rs. 18,000, were being taken to Messrs. Bird & Co's office by three of their employés. They overpowered the men in charge and drove off with all the money in a taxi.
February 12th.	Hoshiarpur (Punjab).	A dacoity was committed by returned Sikh emigrants. [474]
February 16th.	Rangpur (Bengal).	An attempt was made by four Bengali youths to shoot Rai Saheb Nanda Kumar Bose, Additional Superintendent of police. One of the Rai Saheb's orderlies was killed.
February 19th.	Lahore (Punjab).	Seven Sikhs were arrested in possession of one revolver, four bombs ready for use and four national flags. Three more members of the gang were arrested next day.
February 20th.	Rajshahi (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Dharail. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of about Rs. 25,000.
February 20th.	Lahore (Punjab).	A Sub-Inspector and a Head Constable on special duty were shot in Anarkali Bazar; the former was seriously wounded, and the latter died shortly after.
February 22nd.	Calcutta (Bengal).	A dacoity was committed in Belia-ghata by a gang of <i>bhadralog</i> in two taxis. Rs. 22,000, in cash were stolen.
February 24th.	Lahore (Punjab).	In a house search four bombs of the Bengal pattern were found.

February 24th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	A Bengali named Nirode Halder who entered a room in which were several members of a revolutionary gang, was shot dead by one of them named Chitta Priya Ray Chaudhari.
February 28th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Sub-Inspector Suresh Chandra Mukherjee of the Criminal Investigation Department was murdered in Cornwallis Street by Chitta Priya Ray Chaudhuri. [475]
March 4th.	Tippera (Bengal).	The head master of the Comilla High School was shot dead with a revolver.
March 18th.	Delhi (Delhi).	The Defence of India Act was passed.
March 23rd.	Mecrut (United Provinces).	A Maratha Brahmin named Pingley, having in his possession a box containing ten bombs of the Bengal pattern, was found in a quarter in the lines of the 12th Cavalry.
April 6th.	24-Parganas (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Areadah. Cash and jewelry were stolen to the value of about Rs. 800.
April 11th.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Balda. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 4,000.
April 30th.	Nadia (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Pragpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 7,000.
May 25th.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Aurail. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 5,000.
June 4th.	Bakarganj (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Ghazipura. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 16,000.
June 11th.	Amritsar (Punjab).	A gang of dacoits attacked the guard on a canal bridge killing the sentry and the naik in charge, and wounding four sepoy.

June 28th.	Jhansi (United Provinces).	Two Mahomedan sowars of the 8th Cavalry murdered two of their officers, the Station Staff Officer and a bombardier of artillery, and wounded one officer and a sergeant of artillery. [476]
August 2nd.	Amritsar (Punjab).	Kapur Singh <i>Sahukar</i> , of Padri Kalan, was shot dead. He had assisted the police and given evidence against members of the <i>Ghadr</i> party.
August 2nd.	24-Parganas (Bengal).	A highway robbery was committed by a gang of young Bengalis near Agarpara Station.
August 14th.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Haripur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 17,000. One man was shot dead and 3 seriously wounded.
August 25th.	24-Parganas (Bengal).	Murari Mohan Mitra, who had assisted the police in the case of a highway robbery, was shot dead at his house at Agarpara (<i>vide</i> August 2nd, 1915). A police constable and another person who attempted to pursue his assailants were wounded.
September 7th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A gang of political dacoits looted seven shops in Chandrakona Bazar. About Rs. 21,000 in cash were stolen and five persons wounded.
September 9th.	Balasore (Bihar and Orisa).	Jotindra Nath Mukherji and Chitapriya Ray Chaudhuri, leaders of a gang of five <i>bhadralog</i> revolutionaries, were killed in a fight with the police.
September 30th.	Nadia (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Shibpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 21,000. Three of the villagers were shot dead and several wounded. [477]
October 9th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	Jatindra Mohan Ghose, Deputy Superintendent of police, was shot dead. His son, a child of 3, was also killed.

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| October 21st. | Calcutta (Bengal). | Four officers of the Bengal Criminal Investigation Department were fired on by a party of Bengalis armed with Mauser pistols. Sub-Inspector Girendra Nath Banerji was killed and Sub-Inspector Upendra Nath Chatterji wounded. |
| November 15th. | Mymensingh (Bengal). | A political dacoity was committed at Matia. Rs. 200 in cash and some ornaments were stolen. |
| November 17th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | A political dacoity was committed in Cornwallis Street. Rs. 800 in cash were stolen by the dacoits who escaped in a taxi. |
| November 26th. | Mymensingh (Bengal). | A political dacoity was committed at Rasulpur. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 450. |
| November 30th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | A constable of the Calcutta police was shot by two young Bengalis and died a few days later. |
| December 2nd. | Calcutta (Bengal). | A political dacoity was committed in Corporation Street. Cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 50,000 were stolen by the dacoits who arrived and left in a taxi. |
| December 14th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | A political dacoity was committed in Seth Bagan Lane. Cash and ornaments to the value of Rs. 7,000 were stolen by the dacoits who arrived and left in a taxi.
[478] |
| December 19th. | Mymensingh (Bengal). | Dhirendra Nath Biswas, who had been giving information to the police, was murdered by a gang armed with Mauser pistol at his home in Sasadighi. |
| December 22nd. | Mymensingh (Bengal). | A political dacoity was committed at Kaliachapara. Cash and ornaments were stolen to the value of Rs. 850. |
| December 27th. | Calcutta (Bengal). | Two Bengali bookmakers were robbed of about Rs. 750 by two young <i>bhadralog</i> armed with Mauser pistols. |

December 29th. Tippera (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Patnai. Over Rs. 10,000 in cash were stolen and two men were shot dead.

[1916]

January 10th. Noakhali (Bengal). A student named Sirish Chandra Roy, who was a candidate for employment in the police, was shot dead on the road near his house.

January 15th. Mymensingh (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Sultanpur.

January 16th. Calcutta (Bengal). Sub-Inspector Madhu Sudan Bhattacharji of the Special Branch of the Calcutta Police, was shot dead in College Street.

January 17th. Howrah (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed in Krishna Mohan Mitter's Lane.

January 18th. Mymensingh (Bengal). Sasi Chakravarti, who had been giving information to the police, was murdered at Sasadighi.

January 28th. Malda (Bengal). The Headmaster of the Malda Zilla School was stabbed to death. [479]

February 27th. Pabna (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Kadimpara.

March 3rd. Howrah (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Dafarpur.

March 6th. Tippera (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Gandora.

April 30th. Tippera (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Natghar.

June 9th. Faridpur (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed at Dhanakati.

June 23rd. Dacca (Bengal). Two head constables named Surendra Bhusan Mukherji and Rohini Kumar Mukherji, who were engaged in watching political suspects, were shot dead with Mauser pistols.

June 26th. Calcutta (Bengal). A political dacoity was committed in Kumartola.

June 30th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Deputy Superintendent Basanta Kumar Chatterji of the Bengal Intelligence Branch, was shot dead by a band of young Bengalis armed with Mauser pistols (<i>vide</i> November 25th, 1914).
July 9th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Roha.
September 2nd.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Shaharpadua.
September 12th.	Tippera (Bengal).	A political Dacoity with murder was committed at Laliteswar.
September 30th.	Dacca (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Ramidia.
October 17th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity with murder was committed at Sahildeo.
November 4th.	Mymensingh (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Parail. [480]

[1917]

January 23rd.	Calcutta (Bengal).	Two employees of a jute firm were robbed of 6 notes of Rs. 1,000 each, the property of the firm, by a gang of four young Bengalis.
February 24th.	Dacca (Bengal).	A political dacoity was committed at Paikerchar; the property stolen was valued at Rs. 12,000.
April 15th.	Rajshahi (Bengal).	Two houses were robbed by political dacoits at Jamnagar in the Natore Sub-division. The property stolen was estimated at over Rs. 2,000.
May 7th.	Calcutta (Bengal).	A political dacoity by armed men was committed on a jeweller's shop in Armenian Street, Bara Bazar. Two brothers of the owner, who were looking after the shop, were shot and died later, and two employees were wounded. The jewelry stolen was valued at over Rs. 5,000 and the dacoits in their haste dropped a bundle of notes worth Rs. 6,000 outside the shop.

- | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|--|
| May 30th. | Rawal Pindi
(Punjab). | Two British officers were shot dead through the window of the mess at Baragali about 10 p.m. The assassins belonged to the colony of Hindusthani Fanatics, and were arrested a few days later in the territory of the Nawab of Amb and eventually convicted. |
| June 14th. | Pabna (Bengal). | The dead body of a youth of 16 named Amriteswar Chakravarti was found near Serajganj; he is believed to have been murdered by the local revolutionaries for assisting the police. [481] |
| June 20th. | Rangpur (Bengal). | A political dacoity was committed at Rakhalburuz at the house of an old Mahomedan who was severely wounded and died shortly afterwards; his elder son was shot dead. The property stolen was valued at Rs. 17,000. |

[482] LIST OF HISTORY SHEETS AND OTHER
COMPILATIONS.

The following History Sheets and other Compilations are on record in the Criminal Intelligence Department, Simla/Delhi, and in the Criminal Investigation Departments of the Provinces named.

CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT

I.—HISTORY SHEETS

Abdul Wali Khan, Qazi.	Chakravarti, Jotindra Nath.
Abdullah-al-Mamun	Chanjeri Rama Rao.
Subrawardy, Dr.	Chatterji, Jnanendra Nath.
Abdur Rahaman of Amritsar,	Chatterji, Miss Mrinalini.
Hafiz.	Chattopadhyaya, Virendranath.
Abhedanande, Swami.	Cheddi Lal, Kunwar.
Abu Said el Arabi, Maulvi.	Coutinho.
Acharya, Natvarlal Vidyashankar.	Dalgado, Edwardo Patricio Ave-
Ahmad Baksh Khan.	lino.
Aiyar, G. Subramania.	Das, Bharat Chandra.
Aiyar, K. G. Pasupati.	Das, Jeremiah Dina Nath.
Aiyar, Varaganeri Venkatesa	Das, Sarangadhar.
Subramania.	Das, Taraknath.
Ajit Singh.	Das, Gupta, Jnanendra Nath.
Ali Khan, Badr-ul-Islam.	Dey, Debendra Nath.
Amba Parshad.	Dube, Bhagwandin.
Andrews, Mr. C. F.	Dube, Sitaram.
Ansari, M. S.	Dube, Vishnu Prasad.
Bapanna, Garimalla.	Dutt, Amar Nath.
Bapat, Pandurang Mahadev.	Dutt, Bhupendra Nath.
Barakatullah, Mahomed.	Dutt, P. N. <i>alias</i> Richard de la
Batra, Murari Lal.	Torre, <i>alias</i> Dawood Ali Khan.
Bhagwan Singh, <i>alias</i> Natha Singh,	Dutt, Sukh Sagar [484]
<i>alias</i> B. S. Jakh [483]	Dwarkadas, Nitisen.
Bharati, C. Subramania.	Freeman, George, <i>alias</i> George
Bhattacharji, Anil Nath.	Fitzerald.
Bhattacharji, Basudev.	Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand.
Bhattacharji, Kunja Lal.	Ghose, Arabindo Ackroyd.
Bose, Ajit Mohan.	Ghose, Hemanta Kumar.
Bose, Sailendra Kumar.	Ghose, Jamini Mohan.
Bose, Subodh Kumar.	Godrej, Munchersshah Burjorji.
Bose, Surendra Mohan.	Goldman, Emma.
Cama, Madame Bhikhaji Rustom.	Govind Amin.
Chakravarti, Chandra Kanta.	Guha, Suresh Chandra.

- Haidar Raza.
 Har Dayal.
 Horniman, Mr. B. G.
 Iyengar, Vengamuri Gopala
 Krishna.
 James, Edward Holton.
 Jamnadas Dwarkadas.
 Jassawalla, Khurshedji Sorabji.
 Jayaswal, Kashi Prasad.
 Joshi, Sammuel Lucas.
 Ketkar, Shridhar Vyankatesh.
 Khaparde, Ganesh Srikrishna.
 Khudadad Khan, Chaudhuri.
 Khushal Khan, Merchant of Cali-
 fornia.
 Kolhatkar, Achuyt Balwant.
 Koregaonkar, Harishchandra Kri-
 shnarao.
 Krishna, Dr. Narayan.
 Krishnavarma, Shyamaji.
 Kumar, Guru Dutt.
 Lajpatrai, Lala.
 Laskar, Adhar Chandra.
 Madhav Rao, Dharapuram Sub-
 baraya.
 Mahajan, Jodh Singh [485]
 Mahomed Naim.
 Mahomed Shafi.
 Mani, Coimbatore Subramania.
 Manilal Maganlal Shah, *alias*
 M. M. Doctor.
 Master, Munchersshah Sorabji.
 Mirza Abbas.
 Misra, Piare Lal.
 Misra, Rewa Prasad.
 Mitter, Ashutosh.
 Mohamed Ali, Editor of the
 Comrade.
 Mukbain Singh, Malik.
 Naoroji, Miss Perin.
 Narayan Swami, *alias* Durga Das.
 Nathu Ram Tanan and Mrs.
 Dhandevi.
 Nihal Singh, Saint.
 Pal, Bepin Chandra.
 Pal, Fakirchand.
 Pal, Niranjan.
 Parikh, Jethalal Motilal.
 Parmanand, Bhai.
 Patel, Jehangir B.
 Pather, S. Ratnam.
 Phadke, Waman Vishnu.
 Phelps, Myron H.
 Pillai, V. O. Chidambaram, of
 Madras.
 Polak, Henry Salomon Leon.
 Rafik Mohamed Khan.
 Rahim Husain, *alias* Chagan
 Khairaj Varma.
 Rajan, Tillastanam Sesha Sundara.
 Ram Bhaj Dutt Chaudhuri.
 Ram Chandra Peshawari.
 Ram Nath Puri [486]
 Rana, Sirdarsinghji Rewabhai.
 Roy, Romendra Nath.
 Sagar Chand.
 Saklatwala, Shapurji Sorabji.
 Sane, Shirirang Moreshwar.
 Sarala Devi (Mrs. Ram Bhaj Dutt
 Chaudhuri).
 Sarju Prasad.
 Satya Deva.
 Savarkar, Ganesh Damodar.
 Savarkar, Narayan Damodar.
 Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar.
 Shah, Amolak Mohanlal.
 Sheore, Vinayak Yeshwant.
 Shiv Nath Rai.
 Sinha, Mahesh Charan.
 Srikishen, C.
 Sri Ram.
 Strickland, Sir Walter, *alias* Thel-
 gar Vanicoro.
 Sundar Singh, Dr.
 Suryanarayana, S. S.
 Swami, Kandala Vira Raghava.
 Tahal Ram Ganga Ram.
 Teja Singh.
 Thakur Das.
 Tirumal Acharya, M. P.
 Varma, Diwanchand Hariram.
 Varma, Gyan Chand.
 Varma, Hoti Lal.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

America. Political agitation among Indians in—(In four parts.)
[487] *Arms.* Note on a conspiracy to import—into India for revolutionary purposes.

Arya Samaj. Note on the—.

Baroda. Note on the anti-British movement in—.

Benares. Note on—as a centre of revolutionary activity.

Bombs. Notes on the construction of and materials used in—.

Chandernagore. Note on enquiries in—, with a memorandum by the Director of Criminal Intelligence.

Congress. Note on the Indian National—at Allahabad, 1910.

Delhi Bombay Case. Note on the results of the investigation of the—.

Explosives and infernal machines. Note on the use of—for revolutionary purposes in India.

Ghadr Directory, containing accounts of the persons connected with the Ghadr conspiracy.

Ghadr Newspaper. Note on the interception of the—.

Gurukul at Kangri. Note on the—.

Hindusthan Association of America. List of persons connected with the—.

Indian Agitators Abroad, containing account of their doings (1911 and 1913).

Khuddam-i-Kaaba. Note on the Society of—.

London. Note on Oriental Societies in—.

Malaya. Note on the unrest among Punjabi emigrants in—.

Moslem League. Account of the—from 1906 to 1913.

Political Agitators in India, containing accounts of the leading—.

Pondicherry. Note on sedition in—.

Publications. List of—proscribed under the Indian Press Act.

[488] *Raja Bazar series of bombs.* Note on the—.

Ramkrishna Mission. Note on the—.

Sadhus (Political), Note on—.

Sea Customs Act. List of publications proscribed under the—.

Servants of India Society. Note on the—.

Shabash Pamphlet. Translation of the—.

Siam and Burma. Note on the German-Indian plots in—.

Siam Directory, containing account of the persons concerned in the German-Indian plots.

Sikh Politics. Note on developments in—.

Suprabhat Magazine. Note on the—.

Wahabis. Note on recent activities among the—.

Who's Who (Politico-criminal), containing accounts of persons connected with politico-criminal agitation.

ASSAM

I.—HISTORY SHEETS

Sylhet starred suspects.

1. Barman, Mohini Kumar, son of Kali Charan, of Bhadikhira, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet.
2. Bhattacharji, Nagendra Nath, son of Nilmani, of Bithangal, P.S. Baniachang, Sylhet.
3. Chaudhuri, Debendra Chandra, son of Raj Govinda, of village Paschimbhag, P.S. Sadar, Sylhet.
4. Chaudhuri, Guru Das, *alias* Dayananda Swami, son of Guru Charan of Bamoi, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet.
5. Dam, Ananga Mohan, son of Abhay Kumar, of Sadhuhati, P.S. Maulvi Bazar, Sylhet.
6. Das, Durga Kumar, son of Jay Chandra, of Hushanpur, P.S. Kulaura, Sylhet [489]
7. Datta, Anil Chandra, son of Ananda Chandra, of village Putijuri, P.S. Habiganj, Sylhet.
8. Dutta, Gagan Chandra, son of Chandra Nath, of Mohanabad, Habiganj, Sylhet.
9. Datta, Jogendra Chandra, son of Govinda Chandra of Bhujpur, Bilashipara, P.S. Srimangal, Sylhet.
10. Datta, Nagendra Chandra, son of Govinda Chandra, of Bhujpur, Bilashipara, P.S. Srimangal, Sylhet.
11. Datta, Srish Chandra, son of Prakash Chandra, of Shajangram, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet.
12. De, Digendra Nath, *alias* Abhedananda, son of Dol Govinda, of Jagatshi, P.S. Maulvi Bazar, Sylhet.
13. De Chaudhuri, Ramesh Chandra, son of Sarat Chandra, of Kholagaon, P.S. Rajnagar, Sylhet.
14. Deb, Suresh Chandra, son of Prakash Chandra, of Barail, Muchi-Kandi, Sylhet.
17. Mazumdar, Rohini Kumar, son of Ajodhya Nath, of Bejura, Madhabpur, P.S. Sylhet.
18. Ray, Upendra Kishore, son of Raj Kishore, of Shajangram, Lakhai, P.S. Sylhet.
19. Sen, Birendra Chandra, son of Kailash Chandra, of Senpara, P.S. Baniachang, Sylhet.
20. Sen, Hem Chandra, son of Kailash Chandra, of Senpara, P.S. Baniachang, Sylhet.
21. Sen, Hiran Kumar, *alias* Kanti Kumar, son of Kailash Chandra, of Senpara, P.S. Baniachang, Sylhet.
23. Singh, Hemanta Kumar, *alias* Rudrananda, son of Chandra Mohan, of Rarisal, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet. (At present Dinapur).

Sylhet Prominent Agitators.

1. Bairagi, Basanta Kumar Dhar, son of Nilmani, of Kasaripara, P.S. Jaldhup, Sylhet.

3. Datta, Shyama Charan, son of Ram Charan, of Shuhilpur, P.S. Brahmanbaria, Tippera. At present Karimganj town, Sylhet district. [498]

4. De, Gopal Govinda, son of Ram Govinda, of Srigouri P.S. Badarpur, Sylhet.

5. Pal, Bepin Chandra, son of Ramananda, of Poil, P.S. Habiganj, Sylhet.

6. Sen, Banka Chandra, son of Sarat Chandra, of Shopatola, P.S. Jaldhup, Sylhet.

7. Sen Gupta, Sukhendra Kumar, son of Raj Mohan, of Bikrampur, Madhyapara, Lohajang, P.S. District Dacca. (At present Adamtilla Tea Garden, P.S. Patharkandi, Sylhet district).

8. Singh, Sachindra Chandra, son of Sambhu Nath, of Rarisal, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet.

Sylhet ordinary suspects.

1. Arjun, Gopendra Nath, son of Govinda Chandra, of Nandura, P.S. Rajnagar, Sylhet.

2. Barman, Shib Charan, son of Abhaya Charan, of Bhadikhira, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet.

3. Biswas, Debendra Chandra, son of Bharat Chandra, of Poil, P.S. Habiganj, Sylhet.

5. Chaudhuri, Lalit Mohan, son of Pyari Mohan, of Nandina, P.S. Bajitpur, Mymensingh district. (At present Karimganj town, Sylhet district.)

6. Chaudhuri, Romesh Chandra, son of Kunja Kishore, of Murakair, P.S., Lakhai, Sylhet.

7. Chaudhuri, Romesh Chandra, son of Sarat Chandra, of Agna, Baniachang, P.S. Sylhet.

9. Datta, Nagendra Nath, *alias* Bipulananda Saraswati, son of Jay Kishore, of Shajangram, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet.

10. Datta, Surendra Chandra, son of Golok Mohan of Shajangram, P.S. Lakhai, Sylhet.

12. De, Ramani Mohan, son of Ram Chandra, of Mizanagar, P.S. Kamalganj, Sylhet.

13. Gupta, Jatindra Ranjan, son of Khetra Nath, of Gutaura, P.S. Brahmanbaria, Tippera district. (At present Karimganj, Sylhet district). [491]

...

14. Nag, Suresh Chandra, son of Bishnu Prasad, of Nagjatu, Karnapara, P.S. Baniachang, Sylhet.

15. Ray, Jnanendra Nath, son of Kunja Mohan of Barail, Muchikandi, Sylhet.

16. Ray, Nagendra Chandra, son of Kunja Mohan, of Barail, Muchikandi, Sylhet.

17. Ray, Satish Chandra, son of Saday Chandra, of Ikram, Baniachang, Sylhet.

18. Ray, Satya Ranjan, son of Saday Chandra, of Ikram, Baniachang, P.S. Sylhet.

Cachar ordinary suspects.

1. Datta, Naresh Chandra, *alias* Ramananda, son of Ishan Chandra, of Poli, P.S. Habiganj, Sylhet.
2. De, Man Govinda, *alias* Amritananda, son of Jay Govinda, of Hiala, P.S. Habiganj, Sylhet.
3. Mandal, Radhika Mohan, *alias* Satyananda, son of Pyari Mohan, of Abdullapur, P.S. Tangibari, Dacca.

Goalpara ordinary suspects

1. Sirkar, Bishnupada, son of Ramananda, of village Debanandapur, district Hooghly. Occasionally resides at Dhubri, Goalpara district.

Nowgong ordinary suspects.

1. Sarma, Gopal Chandra, *alias* Paramananda, son of Mila Ram, of village Salmora, P.S. Roha, Nowgong.

Sibsagar ordinary suspects.

1. Chatarji, Nalini Kanta, *alias* Nigamananda Swami, son of Bhuban Mohan of Kulabpur, P.S. Gangui, district Nadia.

[492] II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

Nil

BENGAL

I.—HISTORY SHEETS

The History Sheets of about 2,000 suspects are on record in the Special Branch, including the histories of detenus under the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

Agitation (Political).

1. Notes on the growth of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. (In three parts).
2. Note on the connection of *sadhus* and *sanyasis* with political agitation.
3. Note on swadeshi and political cases in Bengal.
4. Notes on political agitation and crime in the following districts :
 - (1) Barisal.
 - (2) Dacca.
 - (3) Faridpur.
 - (4) Hill Tippera.
 - (5) Midnapore (with copies of judgments in the Midnapore bomb case, and the Midnapore civil suit).
 - (6) Mymensingh.
 - (7) Rangpur.
 - (8) Tippera, and
 - (9) in Cooch Bihar State.

Alipore Bomb Case.

See Conspiracy, Maniktolla.

[493] *Andaman Islands.*

Note on enquiries in August, 1913.

Anusilan Samiti, Dacca.

Report on the—, by H. L. Salkeld, Esq., I.C.S., in four parts with index (1909).

Note on the—, by J. E. I. Armstrong, Esq. (1917).

Bhadralog crime.

Directory of—.

Bomb cases.

- (1) Midnapore. Judgment in the case.
- (2) Mussulmanpara. Record of the case, and special note.
- (3) Raja Bazar. Record and judgment.

Chandernagore.

- (1) Note on the revolutionary gang in—.
- (2) Report on the importation of arms through—.

Conspiracy Cases.

- (1) Barisal. Record judgments in the principal and supplementary cases.
- (2) Benares. Judgment.
- (3) Dacca. Complete record and judgments.
- (4) Khulna. Judgment.
- (5) Madaripur. Complete record.
- (6) Maniktolla. Complete record and judgments.
- (7) Midnapore. Note on the conspiracy.

Dacoities (Political).

I. Note on the *modus operandi* followed in :—

II. Special notes on the following dacoities :—

- (1) Agarpara.
- (2) Areadah. [494]
- (3) Aurail.
- (4) Bagmara.
- (5) Barraha.
- (6) Belliaghata.
- (7) Betati.
- (8) Bharakair.
- (9) Chandrakona.
- (10) Chaulpatti Road (Calcutta).
- (11) Cornwallis Street (Calcutta).
- (12) Corporation Street (Calcutta).
- (13) Daffarpur.

- (14) Darakpur.
- (15) Dharail.
- (16) Gandora.
- (17) Garden Reach (Calcutta).
- (18) Gosainpur.
- (19) Haludbari. (Record of the case.)
- (20) Haripur.
- (21) Kaliachapra.
- (22) Kartola.
- (23) Khusangal.
- (24) Kurul.
- (25) Laliteswar.
- (26) Mamurabad.
- (27) Mohanpur.
- (28) Mustafapur.
- (29) Nangalband.
- (30) Naria.
- (31) Nathghar.
- (32) Pachimisingh.
- (33) Paikarchar. [495]
- (34) Pragpur. (Judgment only.)
- (35) Radhangar.
- (36) Ramdianali.
- (37) Rasulpur.
- (38) Sahildeo.
- (39) Salkia (Howrah).
- (40) Sett Bagan Lane (Calcutta).
- (41) Shaharpadua.
- (42) Sibpur. (Also judgment in the case.)
- (43) Singhair.

Dacoities (Political) Attempted.

Special notes on the following attempted dacoities :—

- (1) Bhojeswar.
- (2) Bikrampur.
- (3) Chandpur.
- (4) Comilla. (With copy of judgment.)
- (5) Palong.
- (6) Palong.

Defence of India Act.

Note on the effect of the measures taken under the—, (1915).

Gang Cases (Political).

- (1) Bajitpur. Note on the case.
- (2) Howrah. Complete record in the principal case and supplementary case.
- (3) Khulna-Jessore. Record of the case.

Murders (Political).

Special Notes on the following :—

- (1) Agarpara, murder of a witness at.
- (2) Bairagitola murder. [496]
- (3) Balai Lodh, Murder of.
- (4) Bhattacharji, murder of Sub-Inspector Madhu Sudan (College Square, Calcutta.)
- (5) Chakrabarti, murder of Sukumar.
- (6) Chatterji, murder of Deputy Superintendent Basanta Kumar. (Bhowanipur.)
- (7) Comilla, murder of Head Master at.
- (8) Ghose, murder of Debendra Kumar.
- (9) Ghose, murder of Inspector Nripendra Nath, (Chitpur).
- (10) Halдар, murder of Nirode.
- (11) Malda, murder of Head Master at. (With copy of judgment).
- (12) Mukherji, murder of Inspector Suresh (Cornwallis Street, Calcutta).
- (13) Serpentine Lane (Calcutta) murder.
- (14) Sitakund, murder of the Mahant of.

Murders (Political) Proposed or Attempted.

- (1) Allen (District Magistrate of Dacca), attempt to murder Mr.
- (2) Bhattacharji, attempted murder of Inspector Surendra.
- (3) Chittagong shooting case.
- (4) Das, plot to murder Abinash.
- (5) Emerson (District Magistrate of Comilla), plot to murder Mr.
- (6) Gupta, proposed murder of Sub-Inspector Jagendra.
- (7) Roy, attempt to murder Nagendra.
- (8) Tegart, plot to murder Mr.

Outrages (Political).

List of Political Outrages in Bengal. [497]

Poetry and the Drama.

Dramas in Bengali, list of. (1912.)

Songs in Bengali, list of.

Proscribed Publications.

List of—.

Ram Krishna Mission.

Note on the—.

Samitis and Societies.

- (1) Anusilan Samiti of Dacca, see Anusilan.
- (2) List of—revised up to 30th June, 1915.
- (3) Samitis in the Dacca Division, note on. (In three parts.)
- (4) *Sonar Bangala* (Golden Bengal Society), note on the.

Schools and Colleges (National).

- (1) Note on the National Schools in Bengal.
- (2) Participation of teachers and pupils of—in political agitation (1916).

Suspects (Political).

List of—.

Swadhin Bharat (Free India) Leaflets.

Report in the circulation of—. (In three parts.)

Volunteers (National).

Note on the—in Eastern Bengal (1909).

Yugantar Gang.

Note on the Yugantar gang after the search of the Maniktolla Garden.

[498] BIHAR AND ORISSA

I.—HISTORY SHEETS.

- (1) Rohini Kumar Sen.
- (2) Karali Charan Mukherji.
- (3) Bankim Chandra Mitter, Pleader.
- (4) Girindra Nath Mukherji.
- (5) Probodh Chandra Nath.
- (6) Rameshwar Dayal Misra.
- (7) Suranath Bhaduri.
- (8) Suresh, *alias* Srish Chandra Chakravarti.
- (9) Mazhar-ul Huqq.
- (10) Bhutnath Mitter.
- (11) Kamaniya Kumar Singha.
- (12) Surendra Nath Adhikari, *alias* Surendra Nath Das.
- (13) Shamsul Bari
- (14) Indu Kiron Bhattacharji.
- (15) Birendra Chandra Sen.
- (16) Nagendra Nath Nag.
- (17) Tulsi Narayan Singh.
- (18) Kamakhya Nath Banarji.
- (19) Preonath Karar.
- (20) Shah Basharat.
- (21) Abdul Qadir Azad Subhani.
- (22) Abdur Rauf.
- (23) Manindra Nath Basu.
- (24) Jnanendra Nath Ray.
- (25) Ajudhia Prasad.
- (26) Kashi Prasad Jayaswal.
- (27) Parmeshwar Lal.
- (28) Khirode Chandra Ray Chaudhuri. [499]

- (29) Santi Chandra Ghose.
- (30) Syed Abdul Aziz.
- (31) Bankim Chandra Mitra.
- (32) Charles Agner Greany.
- (33) Jogesh Chandra Chaudhuri.
- (34) Hemangini Devi.
- (35) Kartik Prosad.
- (36) James Grey.
- (37) Kumar Krista Dutta.
- (38) Raja Nath Ray.
- (39) Sarada Prasad Dutt.
- (40) Bairagi Tripathi.
- (41) Raghubir Singh.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS.

- (1) *Anti-Kine-killing agitation.*
 - (a) Note on the Goala movement in other provinces, and its connection with Bihar and Orissa.
 - (b) Note on the Goala movement in its relation to the anti-kine-killing agitation and the Bakr Id disturbances in Patna City. (1913).
- (2) *Bettiah disturbances of 1908.*
Note on the—.

BOMBAY AND SIND

I.—HISTORY SHEETS.

- (1) Bapat, Govind Pandurang.
- (2) Bapat, Pandurang Mahadev.
- (3) Barve, Anant Waman.
- (4) Barve, Narayan Shivram. [500]
- (5) Barve, Ramkrishna Wasudev.
- (6) Bhopatkar, Bhaskar Balwant.
- (7) Bhosekar, Krishnaji Dattatraya.
- (8) Bijapurkar, Vishnu Govind.
- (9) Bodas, Mahadev Rajaram.
- (10) Damle, Sitaram Keshav.
- (11) Deshmukh, Moreshwar Gopal.
- (12) Deshpande, Gangadhar Balkrishna.
- (13) Dev, Shankar Shrikrishna.
- (14) Gogte, Narayan Ramchandra.
- (15) Guruji, Parshottam Krishna, *alias* Abaji.
- (16) Jog, Narayan Vishnu.
- (17) Joshi, Wasudev Ganesh.
- (18) Kalambe, Krishnaji Maruti.
- (19) Kelkar, Narsingh Chintaman.
- (20) Khadilkar, Krishnaji Prabhakar.
- (21) Khare, Waman Sakharam.
- (22) Khusalsingh Narayansing.
- (23) Kowjalgi, Shrinivas Venkatesh.

- (24) Limaye, Balwant Shankar.
- (25) Limaye, Janardhan Narayan.
- (26) Maharaidas, *alias* Maharani Shankar Sharma, Ambashankar Valabhji Pandya.
- (27) Modak, Ganesh Balwant, *alias* Balaji.
- (28) Pangarkar, Lakshman Ramchandra.
- (29) Paranjpe, Shivram Mahadev.
- (30) Potdar, Govind Narayan.
- (31) Pradhan, Ramchandra Ganesh.
- (32) Purohit, Raghunath Gopal.
- (33) Savarkar, Ganesh Damodar.
- (34) Savarkar, Narayan Damodar.
- (35) Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar. [501]
- (36) Thatte, Hari Anant.
- (37) Tilak, Bal Gangadhar.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

NIL.

BOMBAY (SIND)

I.—HISTORY SHEETS.

- (1) Abdul Majid Shaikh, editor of Al-Amin, of Hyderabad.
- (2) Haji Shah Baksh, Watchmaker, of Hyderabad.
- (3) Haji Abdulla Haroon, Sugar Merchant, of Karachi.
- (4) Haji Ahmad Patoli, Silk merchant, of Hyderabad.
- (5) Moulvi Muhammad Sadik of the Khadda, of Karachi.
- (6) Muhammad Salleh, Mullah of the Mengals, of Kakepoto, Shikarpur.
- (7) Pir Aga Hassan Jan, the *de facto* chief of the Sarhandi Pirs in Sind, of Tando Saindad, Hyderabad.
- (8) Pir Rashidullah Shah *walad* Pir Rashiduddin, *alias* Pir Jhandawalla, of Pir Jhandawalla, Hyderabad District.
- (9) Pir Salleh Muhammad, of Ranipur, Khairpur State.
- (10) Pir Shah Mardan *walad* Pir Hazbulla. *alias* Pir Pagaro, of Kingri, Sukkur.
- (11) Pir Zia Ahmad Sarhandi, of Landhi, Karachi.
- (12) Sardar Dost Muhammad Toki, Amir's Agent, of Karachi.
- (13) Shaik Abdur Rahim, of Alipur, Hyderabad.
- (14) Moulvi Taj Muhammad Bhuranshah, of Amrote Sukkur. [502]
- (15) Taj Muhammad Mir Mahammad, Munshi, of Karachi.
- (16) Virumal Begraj, Printer and Publisher, of Sukkur.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS.

Brahui raid into Sind from Baluchistan.

Note on the—of 1911. (1912).

Mahomedan situtaion in Sind.

Note on the—from 1911 to 1916. (1916).

Sindi business firms abroad.

Note on sediton among—. (1917).

CENTRAL PROVINCES

I.—HISTORY SHEETS.

- (1) Alekar, Narayan Rao, Pleader, of Nagpur.
- (2) Ane, Madho Hari, Pleader, of Yeotmal.
- (3) Ane, Yadho Shri Hari, of Yeotmal.
- (4) Ankushkar, Kashinath Hari, of Deolgaon Raja, District Buldana.
- (5) Aperajit, Kesheo Sitaram, of Chhindwara.
- (6) Atre, Laxman Ramchandra, Pleader, of Wardha.
- (7) Ballal, Krishanaji Hanmant, of Yeotmal.
- (8) Bhawe, Vishwas Rao, of Saugor.
- (9) Bhowani Prasad, Kayasth, of Saugor.
- (10) Buti, Gopal Mukund Rao, Banker, of Nagpur.
- (11) Chatterji, Sheokumar, of Jubbulpore.
- (12) Dajiba Ganesh, Pleader, of Chanda.
- (13) Deshmukh, Balwant Rao, Pleader, of Chanda.
- (14) Deshmukh, Ganesh Yadeo, *alias* Swami Shivanand, of Amraoti. [503]
- (15) Deshpande, Shamrao Pahlad, of Yeotmal.
- (16) Dhok, Vital Daji, of Chhindwara.
- (17) Dube, Sitacharan, of Hoshangabad.
- (18) Dube, Vishnu Prasad, of Hoshangabad.
- (19) Durrani, Sadasheo Krishna, Pleader, of Amraoti.
- (20) Gadgil, Sambhu Ganesh, Pleader.
- (21) Gokhale, Sambhaji Vinayak, Pleader, of Amraoti.
- (22) Gulab Rao, Mahratta, of Amraoti. The blind *Sadhu*.
- (23) Hidgewar, Kesheo Baliram, of Bhandara.
- (24) Jassawalla, K. S., of Jubbulpore.
- (25) Joshi, Moreshwar Vishvanath, Pleader, of Amraoti, now residing in Nagpur.
- (26) Joshi, Waman Gopal, of Amraoti.
- (27) Kankoji, Pandurang Sadasheo, of Wardha.
- (28) Kekre, Ganpat Rao, of Hoshangabad.
- (29) Kelkar, Ghansham Sadashiv, of Yeotmal.
- (30) Ketkar, Shridhar Venkatesh, Dr. of Amraoti.
- (31) Khaparde, Ganesh Shrikrishna, Pleader, of Amraoti.
- (32) Kolhatkar, Achuyt Balwant, of Nagpur, now residing in Poona.
- (33) Marathe, Mahadeo Gangadhar, Pleader, of Akola.
- (34) Mathura Prasad, Rai Sahib, Pleader, of Chhindwara.
- (35) Misra, Pyarlal, of Raipur, now residing in Chhindwara.
- (36) Misra, Rewa Prasad, of Hoshangabad.
- (37) Munje, Balkrishna Sheoram, Dr. of Nagpur.
- (38) Nakre, Narayan Rao, of the Olcott Press, Saugor.
- (39) Namjoshi, Nilkant Krishna, of Yeotmal. [504]
- (40) Otoorkar, Damodhar Hari, of Khandwa.
- (41) Paldhikar, Narayan Ramkrishna, of Wardha.
- (42) Pranjpe, Narhar Sheoram, of Yeotmal, now residing in Poona.

- (43) Punalekar, Sadasheo Sakharam, *alias* Bhaorao Swayambhoo, of Aros in the Savantvadi State, Bombay Presidency. (Note—Resides temporarily at Barsi-Takli in the Akola district.
- (44) Shrikande, Ganpat Rao, of Saugor.
- (45) Soman, Venkatesh Kesheo, of Buldana.
- (46) Srinagaram, Hanmant Rao Naidu, of Wardha.
- (47) Sule, Ganpat Rao, of Hoshangabad.
- (48) Surnaik, Shankar Sakharam, of Basim, District Akola.
- (49) Thengari, Dhundiraj, Mechanical Engineer, of Nagpur.
- (50) Tikhe, Vinayak Govind, of Deolgaon Raja, District Buldana.
- (51) Udoji, Nilkant Rao, Pleader, of Nagpur.
- (52) Varma, Gyan Chandra, of Jubbulpore, now residing in Cawnpore.
- (53) Varma, Hiralal, of Chhindwara.
- (54) Zainuddin, of Karanja, District Akola.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

- (1) Anarchist movements outside the Central Provinces. Note showing the connection of residents of the Central Provinces and Berar with some of the—.
- (2) Arya Samaj movement in the Central Provinces and Berar. Note on the —. (1905-06).
- (3) Bhishmashtami celebrations. Note on the —.
- (4) Extremists and Extremism in Nagpur. Report on —.
- (5) Ganpati celebrations. Note on the —.
- (6) Hanumangarh Math at Wardha. (A religious institution. Note on the —. [505])
- (7) List of persons in the Central Provinces and Berar.
 - (a) Known or believed to be connected with organised political crime, and revolutionary organizations and propaganda.
 - (b) prosecuted in political cases.
 - (c) known or believed to have a knowledge of the manufacture of explosives and bombs.
- (8) Munje, Dr. Balkrishna Shivram, of Nagpur. Note on a conversation with —.
- (9) National Schools in Berar. Note on the —.
- (10) Satya Shodhak Samaj. Note on the —.
- (11) Sedition in Bastar. Note on —.
- (12) Sedition in Saugor. Report on —.
- (13) Seditious picture entitled *Muhishasura Mardini*, and labelled *Rashtriya Jagruti* (National Awakening). Note on a —.

MADRAS

I.—HISTORY SHEETS.

- (1) Chidambaram Pillai, V. O.
- (2) Subbaraya Madhav Rao, Dharapuram.
- (3) Pasupati Ayyar, K. G.

- (4) Sundararajan, Tillastanam Sesha.
- (5) Srinivasa Achari, S., B.A.
- (6) Subramanya Bharati, C.
- (7) Subramanya Ayyar, V. V.
- (8) Rama Rao, Chenjeri.
- (9) Tirumalai Achari, M. P.
- (10) Surendranath Arya, Ethiraj.
- (11) Harisarvottama Rao, Gadicherla.
- (12) Krishna Ayyar, with *aliases*.
- (13) Jagannatha Sastri, Yerramilli [506]
- (14) Krishna Rao, Mutnuri.
- (15) Sitaramayya, Bhagarazu Pathabhi.
- (16) Lakshminarayana, *alias* Narayana Rao, Pingala.
- (17) Nagaswami Ayyar.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

Theosophical Society.

History of the —.

PUNJAB

I. HISTORY SHEETS.

- (1) Lajpatrai, son of Radha Kishen, of Ludhiana.
- (2) Ajit Singh, son of Arjan Singh, of Jullundur.
- (3) Mehta Jamna Das, son of Ram Ditta, of Lyallpur.
- (4) Ram Chand, son of Nathu Ram, of Lyallpur.
- (5) Kripal Singh, son of Labh Singh, of Lyallpur.
- (6) Dina Nath, son of Harsukh Rai, of Gujranwala.
- (7) Murli Dhar, son of Bansi Lal, of Hoshiarpur.
- (8) Dhanpat Rai, son of Ram Chand, of Lahore.
- (9) Saiyid Haider Raza, son of Ahmad Raza, of Delhi.
- (10) Amar Das, son of Sarb Dayal, of Shahpur (Sialkot).
- (11) Anand Kishore, son of Radha Kishen, of Lahore.
- (12) Devi Chand, son of Prabh Dayal, of Hoshiarpur.
- (13) Ram Chand, son of Salig Ram, of Hoshiarpur.
- (14) Chura Muni, son of Saudagar Mal, of Ludhiana.
- (15) Ram Chand, son of Mitha Mal, of Peshawar.
- (16) Muharram Ali Chishti, son of Nur Ahmad, of Lahore.
- (17) Ram Bhaj Dutt, son of Radha Kishen, of Lahore.
- (18) Sarala Devi, wife of No. 17 above, of Lahore. [507]
- (19) Amolak Ram, son of Lachmi Sahai, of Lyallpur.
- (20) Har Dayal, son of Gauri Dayal, of Delhi.
- (21) Amba Parshad, son of Govind Rai, of Moradabad.
- (22) Amar Nath, of Hoshiarpur.
- (23) Pindi Das, son of Ishar Das, of Gujranwala.
- (24) Jaswant Rai, son of Churmani, of Hissar.
- (25) Dr. Hari Nath Mukerji, son of Tara Nath Mukerji, of Ambala.
- (26) Bhai Parma Nand, son of Tara Chand, of Jhelum District.
- (27) Bindra Ban, of Sialkot District.

- (28) Zafar Ali, son of Sirajuddin, of Gujranwala.
- (29) Gowardan Das, son of Asa Nand, of Multan.
- (30) Zia-ul-Haq, son of Ali Hussain, of Hapar, Multan.
- (31) Harchand Singh, son of Arjan Singh, of Chak No. 220-R. B., Lyallpur.
- (32) Mangal Singh, son of Narain Singh, of Fatoohi Chak, Gurdaspur District.
- (33) Kidar Nath Sahgal, son of Bhag Mal, of Sambarial, Sialkot District.
- (34) Jagan Nath Sahgal, son of Bhag Mal, of Sambarial.
- (35) Kehr Singh, son of Jowand Singh, of Burj Rai, Amritsar District.
- (36) Mirza Inyat Ullah, of Lahore.
- (37) Sardul Singh, B.A., son of Kirpal Singh, of Bunga Gunjawan, Amritsar City.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

- (1) Handbook of political agitators.
- (2) The Punjab *Ghadr* Directory.
- (3) The History of the revolutionary movement in the Punjab.
- (4) Muhammadan "Who's Who"? [508]
- (5) Silk Letter Directory.
- (6) Brief History of mutiny in the 23rd Cavalry.
- (7) Proceedings and Judgments in the —.
 - (1) Lahore Conspiracy Case.
 - (2) 1st Supplementary Lahore Conspiracy Case.
 - (3) 2nd Supplementary Lahore Conspiracy Case.
 - (4) 3rd Supplementary Lahore Conspiracy Case.
 - (5) 4th Supplementary Lahore Conspiracy Case.
 - (6) Padri Murder Case.
 - (7) Mandi Conspiracy Case.
 - (8) Supplementary Mandi Conspiracy Case.

RAJPUTANA

I.—HISTORY SHEETS

- (1) Barat Kesri Singh Charan, son of Kishen Singh, *alias* Kishen Dan of Shahpura.
- (2) Arjan Lal Sethi.

II.—OTHER COMPILATIONS

Nil.

UNITED PROVINCES

I.—HISTORY SHEETS

- (1) Abdul Bari, Maulvi, of Lucknow.
- (2) Abdul Ghaffar, Qazi, of Moradabad.
- (3) Abdul Qadir, Maulvi, Azad Subhani, of Cawnpore.

- (4) Abdul Rahman Bijnori, Dr., of Seohara, Bijnor.
- (5) Abdul Rahman Siddiqi, *alias* Sindhi, of Surat, Bombay.
- (6) Abdul Wadud, Maulvi, of Bareilly. [509]
- (7) Achitanand (Achutyanand), Swami, of Faridpur, Eastern Bengal.
- (8) Ali Ahmad, of Fyzabad.
- (9) Ajudhia Prasad, of Gaya.
- (10) Akbar Husain, of Allahabad.
- (11) Amba Prasad, of Moradabad.
- (12) Anand Anand Swami, of Darjeeling.
- (13) Anand Swami, of Jaipur State.
- (14) Atmanand, with aliases, of Sambhal, Moradabad.
- (15) Balkrishnan, Pandit, of Multan, Punjab.
- (16) Banarji, Hiranmoy, of Benares.
- (17) Banarji, Jotindra Nath, of Muttra.
- (18) Basu (or Bose), Chinta Haran, of Barisal.
- (19) Basu (or Bose), Rash Behari, of Chandernagore.
- (20) Bhattacharji, Annada Charan, of Benares.
- (21) Bhattacharji, Bankim Chandra, of Benares
- (22) Bhattacharji, Hari Das, of Benares.
- (23) Bhattacharji, Jagdish Chandra, of Benares.
- (24) Bhattacharji, Priya Nath, of Benares.
- (25) Bhattacharji, Sarojish Chandra, of Benares.
- (26) Bhattacharji, Suresh Chandra, of Benares.
- (27) Bishan Dat Dube, of Benares.
- (28) Bose, Jotindra Nath, of Allahabad.
- (29) Bulaqi Ram, of Hafizabad.
- (30) Chatterji, Jotindra Mohan, of Saharanpur.
- (31) Deshpande, Balkrishan Mahadev, of Benares and Gwalior.
- (32) Fahim Ali, of Moradabad.
- (33) Fazl-ul-Hasan, of Aligarh.
- (34) Gambhir Singh.
- (35) Ghazipuri, Anandeo Prasad, of Ghazipur.
- (36) Gur Prasad, of Allahabad. [510]
- (37) Swami Gyananand, *alias* Jogeshwar Mukerji, of the Bharat Dharam Mahamandal, of Meerut.
- (38) Halidar, Bibhuti Bhusan, of Benares.
- (39) Hardwari Singh, of Bereilly.
- (40) Harish Chandra, of Kangri Gurukul.
- (41) Harish Chandra, Dr., of Hissar, Punjab.
- (42) Harnam Das Sikh, of Nadia.
- (43) Harnam Das (Rattan Lal), of Muttra.
- (44) Hassan Nizami, Khwaja, of Delhi.
- (45) Hiralal Varma, of Ludhiana.
- (46) Hoti Lal Varma, of Muttra.
- (47) Ishaq Beg Mirza, of Moradabad.
- (48) Janardhan Bhat, of Allahabad.
- (49) Joardar, Romesh Chandra, of Benares.
- (50) Kaple, Moreshwar Rao, of Benares.
- (51) Kaple, Vinayak Rao, of Benares.

- (52) Karmakar, Chunni Lal, of Benares.
- (53) Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, of Mirzapur.
- (54) Keshwanand Swami, of Hardwar.
- (55) Khaliluddin Ahmed, Maulvi, of Bareilly.
- (56) Lachhmi Narayan, of Unao and Allahabad.
- (57) Ladli Prasad Varma, of Saharanpur.
- (58) Mahadev Bhat, of Allahabad.
- (59) Mahesh Charan Sinha, of Lucknow.
- (60) Makhan Lal Varma, of Agra.
- (61) Makhoda Charan Samadhyaya, of Dacca and Benares.
- (62) Mela Ram, of Amritsar, Punjab.
- (63) Muhammad Sho'aib, of Aligarh.
- (64) Mukandi Lal, of Chamoli (Garhwal).
- (65) Mukherji, Bimal Chandra, of Benares.
- (66) Mukherji, Debi Prasad, of Benares.
- (67) Mukherji, Deb Narayan, of Benares [511]
- (68) Mukherji, Gopal Chandra, of Benares.
- (69) Mukherji, Jagadish Prasanna, of Benares.
- (70) Mukherji Kali Pado, of Benares.
- (71) Mukherji, Nalini Mohan, of Benares.
- (72) Mukherji, Surendra Nath, of Benares.
- (73) Mushir Husain Kidwai, of Bara Banki.
- (74) Nand Gopal, of Gujranwala, Punjab
- (75) Narayan Swami, of Amritsar, Punjab.
- (76) Puran Singh, of Dehra Dun.
- (77) Raj Rajeshwaranand Vidvat Saraswati, of Berar.
- (78) Ram Charan Lal Sharma, of Etah.
- (79) Ram Das Suralia, of Amritsar.
- (80) Rameshwar Deo Acharya, *alias* Ram Dayal, of Bijnor.
- (81) Ram Hari, of Gurdaspur, Punjab.
- (82) Ram Lal Sharma, of Agra.
- (83) Ram Sarup, of Badaun.
- (84) Ram Sarup, of Bijnor.
- (85) Ram Sewak, Munshi, of Gurdaspur, Punjab.
- (86) Riazuddin Ahmad, Maulvi, of Bareilly and Delhi.
- (87) Sanyal, Jitendra Nath, of Benares.
- (88) Sanyal, Rabindra Nath, of Benares.
- (89) Sanyal, Sachindra Nath, of Benares.
- (90) Satya Deva, of Ludhiana.
- (91) Sen, Radhika Jiwan, of Benares and Barisal.
- (92) Shanti Narayan, of Muzaffarnagar.
- (93) Sheogun Acharya, of Delhi.
- (94) Sheo Prasad Gupta, of Benares.
- (95) Sita Ram, of Allahabad.
- (96) Sudanand Saraswati, Musammat, of Benares and Kalighat, Calcutta.
- (97) Sulaiman Nadwi, Saiyid, of Azamgarh. [512]
- (97) Sundar Lal, of Muzaffarnagar.
- (99) Suraj Prasad, of Cawnpore.
- (100) Surnath Bhaduri, of Benares.

- (101) Tandon, Parsotam Das, of Allahabad.
- (102) Tara Chand, of Allahabad.
- (103) Tika Ram, of Allahabad.
- (104) Tota Ram Sanadhya, of Agra.
- (105) Tulsi Pande, of Fyzabad.
- (106) Tulsi Prasad Moitra, of Benares.
- (107) Wajahat Husain, of Muzaffarnagar.
- (108) Zia-ul-Haq, of Gujrat.

II. OTHER COMPILATIONS.

Benares.

Note on political agitation in—. (1915).

Note on Marathas in—. (1909).

Bharat-Dharma Mahamandal Society.

Note on the—. (1915).

Nadwat-ul-Ulama Association.

Note on the—of Lucknow. (1916).

Sedition in the United Provinces.

Note on—. (1910).

**[513] Members of Council and Secretaries in the Home
Department, and Directors of Criminal Intelligence
from 1st January, 1907.**

Date	Home Member	Home Secretary	Director of Criminal Intelligence
1st January, (1907).	The Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson, Kt., C.S.I.	Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	Sir Harold Stuart, K.C.V.O.
15th June, 1907.	.....	Sir Harold Stuart, K.C.V.O., C.S.I.	Mr. C. J. Stevenson Moore
22nd September, 1907.	.....	Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.V.O., C.S.I.	.....
30th March, 1908.	.....	Sir Harold Stuart, K.C.V.O., C.S.I.	.....
16th August, 1909.	The Hon'ble Sir Herbert Risley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	.....	.....
10th February, 1910.	The Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson, Kt., C.S.I.	.....	.....
22nd February, 1910.	.....	.....	Sir Charles Cleveland, K.C.I.E.
10th May, 1910.	.....	The Hon'ble Mr. A. Earle, C.I.E.	.....
19th May, 1910.	The Hon'ble Mr. J. L. Jenkins, C.S.I.	.....	.....
4th February, 1911.	.....	.....	Mr. A. B. Barnard, C.I.E.
4th April, 1911.	.....	.....	Sir Charles Cleveland, K.C.I.E.

Date	Home Member	Home Secretary	Director of Criminal Intelligence
27th January, 1912.	The Hon'ble Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I.	.....	.....
9th February, 1912.	The Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.I.E.	.....
1st April, 1913.	Mr. Hughes Buller, C.I.E.
31st October, 1913.	Sir Charles Cleveland, K.C.I.E.
14th September, 1915.	S. R. Hignell, Esq.	.....
14th October, 1915.	The Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E.	.....
15th February, 1916.	Mr. F. A. M. H. Vincent, M.V.O.
16th March, 1916.	Sir Charles Cleveland, K.C.I.E.
7th, July, 1916.	The Hon'ble Mr. S. R. Hignell.	.....
7th October, 1916.	The Hon'ble Sir J. H. Du Boulay K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
21st April, 1917.	The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, Kt.	

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